



The Rev. M^r CHARLES CHURCHILL

T H E
N O R T H B R I T O N,

XLVI. Numbers complete.

By JOHN WILKES, Esq. C. CHURCHILL,
A N D O T H E R S.

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P R I N T E D I N T H E Y E A R M , D C C . L X X I I .

9



T H E

N O R T H B R I T O N.

Numb. XXV. Saturday, Nov. 20, 1762.

M. CATONIS splendorem maculare voluerunt, ignari quid gravitas, quid integritas, quid magnitudo animi, quid denique virtus valeret; quæ in tempestate sæva quiescit, et lucet in tenebris, et pulsa loco manet tamen, atque hæret in patria, splendetque per se semper, neque alienis unquam sordibus obsolescit.

CICERO.

They wanted to sully the virtue of M. CATO, ignorant how much gravity, how much integrity; how much greatness of soul, how much, in short, virtue avails, which amidst the raging storm is tranquil, and gives light in the dark, and though forced from its place, still remains firm, and adheres closely to its country, and shines always of itself, nor is ever polluted with the dirt of others.

ENVY and *calumny* have in every age been the attendants on superior *virtue*. The world has at all times been cursed with some evil and malignant spirits, who, instead of being fired with noble emulation at the great actions even of their own countrymen, have repined at their glories, and *wept* in the midst of the grateful acclamations of a whole people.

Vol. II. A ple.

ple. The hero of *Milton* shed such tears of virtue at the view of the happy state of our first parents. Their next step is an attempt to ruin the prosperity, which they envy; or effectually to destroy all the noble fruits which would have accrued from any divine successes in which they had no share. In some instances, which could be mentioned from former periods of the *English* history, every mean art has been employed, and every dishonourable and reproachful method made use of, not only to disgrace and ruin the nation at that time, but to prevent posterity from blessing the memory of a great patriot, who wished to have entailed on his country dignity, wealth, and empire. I am sure the sagacious reader will immediately apprehend that I must mean to allude to the great duke of *Marlborough*, and the four last years of queen *Anne*, when the faction of the *Tories* patched up the infamous, and, in the stile of that time, the felonious peace of *Utrecht* (so inadequate to the successes of that war) the mischiefs of which we have ever since most severely felt. Almost every thing won from the *French* by the wisdom or valour of a *Whig* administration, these vipers, bred and nourished in the bosom of our country, sacrificed to France from a lust of power, and the interested views of their faction, ever propitious and favour-

able to the designs of the *antient enemy of this kingdom*.

In great souls the virtuous deeds even of a rival or an enemy have kindled the same noble flame. After *Miltiades* had gained the battle of *Marathon*, *Themistocles* gave up all the dissipated pleasures of an irregular youth, and applied himself solely to public affairs, declaring *that he could not sleep for the trophies of Miltiades*. To this generous emulation in the career of glory his country was indebted for the important victory at *Salamis*, and in consequence for the preservation of the liberties of all *Greece*.

In little, narrow, selfish minds, the effect is directly opposite. Instead of covering himself with fair laurels, won in the cause of virtue, the vulgar wretch will endeavour to blast or steal others, which a generous mind would think almost equal to sacrilege. The conquest of *Martinique* was undoubtedly the honest fame and just applause of the late ministry; yet some of the present hackney hirelings (though so often convicted by the stubborn evidence of facts and dates) are still ascribing the whole merit of that conquest to the *Scottish* idol whom they worship, though it is known that not a single order relative to that noble action issued from any one of the *Scottish* faction. The *Havannah* likewise ought to have been

in our possession many months ago. If the advice in writing of the 18th of *September* had been followed, not only a victorious wreath from *Spain* had decorated a sacred brow already adorned with *French* laurels, but what is of infinitely greater importance, the lives of many brave *Englishmen* had been saved to their families and their country. The real matter of the present quarrel with *Spain* subsisted in as full force in *September* as in *January*. Is not every man of sense in this kingdom convinced, that the present administration were indeed very short-sighted, and at last plunged the nation into a *Spanish* war for a trifling verbal dispute, almost entirely overlooking all the great matter of the most direct hostile tendency? The event of this war has been most fortunate, most glorious to *England*, and every circumstance concurred to give us victory. The enemy who had the most reason to dread, the *season*, proved favourable beyond what the annals of the western world can tell: yet when we recollect that there were only 2500 men of all the *British* troops left capable of real service at the surrender of the *Havannah*, as appears from the returns, we must congratulate ourselves on our amazing good fortune, no less than on the valour and intrepidity of the best troops, who

were ever collected and formed in the *American* world.

One great source of *calumny* against the late minister has been the prosecution of the war in *Germany*. This objection is made to consist of two parts. The one respects the enormous expence of this war, in the manner it has been carried on; the other the fitness of engaging at all in *that* war. As to the first, I will only say that the money department was not that of the late minister, nor did he ever interfere in it. If the *German* contractors have defrauded this nation of the immense sums they are charged with, let those whose particular province it was to have examined and checked their accounts, bear the blame. Undoubtedly it does not fall within the province of the secretary of state for the southern department. As to the fitness of the measure, I will not now discuss that question. I shall only observe, that the first treaty with the king of *Prussia* was signed by Mr. *Fox*, who was then secretary of state, on the 16th of *January*, 1756, and was gloried in as the happy consequence of the *Russian* and *Hesse-Cassel* treaties. Every measure since that time, respecting the war in *Germany*, has been taken in full concert with all the administration, and in particular with lord *UTE*; yet when this part of the war came to

be thought unpopular, the odium of that measure was entirely thrown on Mr. PITT. I shall not forget with what wonderful eloquence the most intimate friends of lord BUTE harangued on this *single* topic at their private dinners, though only one * gentleman faintly opposed it in parliament; and there in a manner rather calculated to save a very particular character, than to give mankind the highest ideas of his zeal for the public. How big with expectation was the committee of supply in the *last* parliament, on the motion for 670,000*l.* to the king of *Prussia*, when Mr. JOB CHARLTON in his *spirited* and *shrewd* way called upon Sir GEORGE LEE, who had risen indeed, not *there* to oppose the motion, but to go out of the house? A roar of laughter ensued, but no opposition was made to that motion. The confidence of mankind in *that* ministry was so great, that the largest sums ever granted by parliament passed in a whisper between a gentleman of the treasury and the *chairman*. The victory of *Rosbach* had demonstrated the zeal and firmness of the king of *Prussia* to the common cause against our most inveterate enemies, the *French*, and had endeared him to every true *English*

* Sir Francis Dashwood every session gave us the same beautiful annual flowers on the *Prussian* treaties.

man. He was no less the favourite of the prince than of the parliament and people, and *Leicester-house* was known, equally with *St. James's*, to approve every measure relative to the *German* war; for there had been the fullest participation, and approbation of all the counsels respecting that important point. Since the accession of our present most gracious sovereign, it does not appear that there has been any change in the *German* system. I rather fear that the nation will believe the present ministry is more *germanized* than any this country has ever had; because their greatest efforts have been made, and their real strength pointed, to save *Hanover* and *Hesse*, in which they have succeeded, but for want of timely and adequate succours have lost almost all *Portugal*, an object of infinitely greater importance to this commercial kingdom. We have now for more than two years been happy under his Majesty's mild and gracious government, but the *German* war has gone on just as it did in the reign of his grandfather; and I appeal to the world, whether any event, but that of peace, was likely to bring the *British* troops back to their own country. The noble lords who moved and supported that question the last winter in the upper house, found that they made their court very ill; some of them smarted for the at-

tempt, and all opposition to that measure was soon laid aside.

Another copious source of calumny on Mr. PITT has been the pretended desertion of the public at the most critical period. I did not expect to have seen this urged after the great part Mr. PITT acted through the last session of parliament. How nobly did he support the cause of his country, and its firm ally, the king of *Portugal*, invaded, contrary to the *law of nations*, solely from his attachment to *England*? Did he at any one moment endeavour to sow the seeds of discord, or to kindle the least spark of faction? On the contrary, was not his manly eloquence exerted to strengthen the hands of government, to give resolution and spirit to a feeble and irresolute administration, and to endeavour to save *Portugal*, not by an ill-timed and penurious, but by the most efficacious and adequate assistance of every kind? His zeal for the public, his firmness, spirit, and moderation, were no less admired, than the solid wisdom, deep policy, and heroic magnanimity of his counsels. His very enemies bear testimony to his patriotism and greatness of soul under all the provocations of petulant, illiberal abuse, and on the most trying occasions. I have the satisfaction of hoping that through the next most important session the public will

reap

reap the benefit of the clearest head and of the most upright heart. If this *just* and *glorious* war should be terminated by an *equitable* and *glorious peace*, as we have reason to expect from his majesty's most gracious answer to the last address of the city of London, I am sure that measure will derive the firmest support from Mr. PITT. If the *peace* to be made should be *inglorious*, *inadequate* to the wonderful successes of his wise counsels, *disgraceful* to *England*, and *dishonourable* to her *allies*; if neither *security* nor *permanency* should appear to be the great objects of it, but the seeds of future wars should be sown for ourselves, and our posterity, then I hope that Mr. PITT will stand forth, pour all his vengeance, and point all his thunders against these foes of his country, and bring them to condign punishment. There is not, I am satisfied, if such a case should exist, any power able to screen such *evil counsellors* from the resentment of a *brave* and *injured* nation, who would then be exasperated that their most important conquests, the purchase of so much blood and treasure, were given up to their ancient and perfidious enemy.

The last topic of abuse I shall now mention is, the late minister's dictating to and magisterially controlling all the other servants of the crown and all public offices. I never heard any
proof

proof offered of this, but the single word *guide* in a letter to a friend. It is not even pretended that he ever imposed any one creature or dependant on the board of *treasury*, *admiralty*, &c. or paid any low sycophant by places in the excise or customs. The proof rests singly on his own expression in a letter, *no longer allowed to guide*; yet in that passage it is confined to the * *measures to be taken against SPAIN, of the highest importance to the honour of the crown, and to the most essential national interests*. Spain is in the department of the southern secretary, and every dispatch to the court of Madrid must, if he had continued in that office, have been drawn up and signed by Mr. PITT, in direct opposition to what he even at that time clearly saw was the *honour of the crown*, and the *interests of the nation*. He therefore appears to have been under a necessity of resigning the seals. There is indeed in the *Letters versified*, a fine, florid harangue of the *president of the council* against Mr. PITT, which would fully prove this charge: but unluckily Lord GRANVILLE has several times declared that the whole speech is pure invention, and destitute of all semblance of truth. Now I have mentioned the *Letters versified*, I will just take notice that the author

* These are the words of the letter.

of that pamphlet began the personalities of the present paper war, and invented the most shameful falsehoods, to which he dared to set some of the most respectable names of this kingdom. I now speak only of the personalities of the present paper war.

Personalities of a different kind took their rise from another quarter. Mr. LEGGE, the most accomplished financier in Europe, was dismissed (for he would not resign) solely from a personal pique of the present minister. He refused to pay a mean and servile court where it was expected, and could never be brought to lend himself to forward the ruin of liberty and whiggism, or to subject a great *English county to a *Tory* and a *Stuart*. Every man of common understanding, even so early, very clearly saw what the friends of liberty were to expect, when the *talons* were fully grown. The event has abundantly justified those fears; but I hope the most cordial whiggish union and harmony will now prevail among all the friends of their country. It is under so many repeated mortifications, the sincerest consolation to every Englishman, that there is now scarcely a party among the natives of this kingdom, al-

* This alludes to a mean and dirty transaction of lord *Bute's*, in favour of Sir *Simeon Stuart*, now one of the members for *Wiltshire*.

most every man in his station imitating the illustrious examples of the duke of Devonshire, marquis of Rockingham, and many other the true, free nobles of this envied but insulted country.

Numb. XXVI. Saturday, Nov. 27, 1766.

Corvos poëtas, et poëtrias picas,
Cantare credas Pegaseium melos.

PERSIUS

Poetic crows, poetic daws,
As poets sing, and give us laws.

AS the season is now approaching, when the learned *universities* are to offer up their *sacrifice of thanksgiving*, and pay their poetical tribute to the throne, we shall, for their benefit, present the public with the remainder of that poem, the beginning of which was so favourably received some time since. We have long lamented, and in all probability, shall have fresh cause of lamenting, the wretched figure those ingenious societies make in poetry. That the muses should droop at Cambridge, where they are despised, where they have not even a *professor* to keep them in countenance, and where

ever

every method has been *illiberally* taken to drive them into banishment, cannot be matter of surprise; but, that Oxford should fall so very short in this respect, justly creates astonishment. There, the polite arts meet with that encouragement they deserve, and the muses are treated with particular civility. The truly ingenious Mr. WARTON hath repeatedly set an example; which, if it had been followed, this poem would have been wholly unnecessary. But, since that gentleman hath in vain pointed out, by his *own* writings, in what manner *they* ought to write to merit praise, the design of these lines (and I hope they will meet with better success) is to point out a remedy for their faults, by which, at least, they may escape censure.

In the present critical situation of affairs, which so loudly calls upon us to adhere to our original intention, we should not have deviated in this manner, but from an unexpected disappointment, arising from the fears of a printer, who trembled at the thoughts of imprisonment, and smarted under a severe, *private* reprimand. The like disappointments we have prevented for the future, and the public may be assured, that whilst the *North Briton* is situated with affection and fidelity to his KING, with love for his country, and is directed by those

those principles which naturally fall in with our excellent constitution, he will never tamely give up the glorious cause in which he is engaged; he will never be drawn away by the arts of a subtle man, nor intimidated by the menaces of a wicked minister; he will always be ready to stand forth for his king and country; and, according to the old English plan of liberty, will praise or censure any minister, according to their behaviour; nor shall the examples of any brother-writers prevail with him to desert the public, whilst he hath any right to suppose he can be serviceable to it.

THE POETRY PROFESSORS.

See Numb. XXII.

WHERE the cramped measure kindly shews,
It will be verse, but should be prose;
 So, when 'tis neither light or dark,
 To 'prentice spruce, or lawyer's clerk,
 The nymph who takes her nightly stand
 At some fly corner in the Strand,
 Plump in the chest, tight in the boddice,
 Seems to the eye a perfect goddess;
 But canvass'd more minutely o'er,
 Turns out an old, stale, batter'd whore.
 Yet must these sons of *gowned ease*,
 Proud of the plumage of *degrees*,

Forfak

Forfake their *apathy* a while,
To figure in the Roman stile,
And offer incense at the shrine
Of *Latin poetry divine*.

Upon the throne the goddess sits,
Surrounded by her *bulky wits* ;
Fabricius, Cooper, Calepine,
Ainsworthius, Faber, Constantine,
And he, who like *Dodona* spoke,
De Sacra Quercu, Holyoake ;
These are her counsellors of state,
Men of much words, and wits of *weight* :
Here *Gradus*, full of *phrases clever*,
Lord of her *Treasury* for ever,
With liberal hand his bounty deals ;
Sir *Canto Keeper* of the *Seals*.
Next to the person of the queen,
Old madam *Profody* is seen ;
Talking incessant, altho' dumb,
Upon her fingers to her thumb.
And all around are portraits hung,
Of heroes in the Latin tongue ;
Italian, English, German, French,
Who most laboriously entrench
In deep parade of language dead,
What would not in their own be read,
Without impeachment of that *taste*,
Which Latin idiom turns to *chaste*.

Santolius

Santolius here, whose flippant joke
 Sought refuge in a Roman cloke :
 With dull *Commirius* at his side,
 In all the pomp of Jesuit pride.
Menage, the pedant figur'd there,
 A trifler with a solemn air :
 And there in loose, unseemly view,
 The graceless, easy *Loveling* too.

'Tis here grave poets urge their claim,
 For some thin blast of tiny fame ;
 Here bind their temples drunk with praise,
 With half a sprig of *wither'd* bays.

O poet, if that honour'd name
 Befits such idle childish aim ;
 If *Virgil* ask thy sacred care,
 If *Horace* charm thee, oh forbear
 To spoil with sacrilegious hand,
 The glories of the *classic* land.
 Nor sew thy *dowlas* on the *sattin*
 Of *their* pure uncorrupted Latin.
 Better be native in thy verse---
 What is *Fingal* but genuine *Erse* ?
 Which all sublime, sonorous flows,
 Like *Hervey's* thoughts in drunken prose.

Hail ! *Scotland*, hail ! to thee belong
 All pow'rs, but most the pow'rs of song ;
 Whether the rude unpolish'd *Erse*
 Stalk in the buckram prose or verse,

Or bonny *Ramsay* please the mo',
Who *sang* so sweetly aw his woe.
If ought, and say who knows so well,
The second-sighted Muse can tell,
Thy happy *lairds* shall laugh and sing,
When *England's Genius* droops his wing,
So shall thy soil new wealth disclose,
So thy own *thistle* choak the *rose*.

But what comes here? Methinks I see
A walking university.

See how they press to cross the *Tweed*,
And strain their limbs with eager speed!
While *Scotland*, from her fertile shore,
Cries, On my sons, return no more.
Nither they haste with willing mind,
Nor cast one *longing* look behind;
On *ten-toe* carriage to salute,

The king, and queen, and *earl of Bute*.

No more the gallant *northern* sons
Spout forth their strings of Latin puns;
Nor *course* all languages to frame

The quibble suited to their name:

As when their ancestors *be-vers'd*

That glorious *Stuart*, *James the First*.

But with that elocution's grace,

That oriental flashy lace,

Which the fam'd Irish *Tommy Puff*

Could sew on sentimental stuff;

Vol. II.

B

Twang

Twang with a sweet pronunciation,
 The flow'rs of bold imagination.
Macpherson leads the flaming van,
 Laird of the *new* Fingalian clan;
 While *Jacky Home* brings up the rear,
 With new-got pension, neat and clear,
 Three hundred English pounds a year.
 While sister *Peg*, our *ancient friend*,
 Sends *Macs* and *Donalds* without end;
 To *George* a while they tune their lays,
 Then all their choral voices raise,
 To heap their panegyric wit on
 Th' illustrious chief, and our *North Briton*.

Hail to the *Thane*, whose *patriot* skill
 Can break all nations to his will;
 Master of sciences and arts,
*Mæcen*as to all men of parts;
 Whose fost'ring hand and ready wit,
 Shall find *us* all in places fit;
 So shall thy friends no longer roam,
 But change to meet a settled Home.
 Hail, mighty *Thane*, for *Scotland* born,
 To fill her almost empty horn;
 Hail to thy ancient glorious *stem*,
 Not *THEY* from *kings*, BUT *KINGS* from *THEM*.

THE DREAM.

WHEN *favourites* their parties make
To play the royal game of goose,
Though they should answer each mistake,
Their master hardly 'scapes abuse ;
And those who hold unworthy honour,
Though grac'd themselves, disgrace the donor.

A mile or rather more from town,
There liv'd a 'squire of peerless rank ;
Tir'd of my walk I laid me down,
And fell a-sleep upon a bank.
It would a crime in fancy seem,
If poets slept without a dream.

A Lily held the regal pow'r,
(*Good folks, I've had a precious dance*
To find the same imperial flower,
You see it in the arms of *France.*)
This *Fleur-de-lys* was brave and young,
The darling theme of every tongue.

When (*from I know not what affection*)
The *Thistle* grew in favour great,
Had the king's ear, and whole direction
Of all the officers of state.
Fir'd with the fame of his renown,
Brier and *Bramble* came to town.

And at the court on public days,
'Twas difficult to get along,
So doubly lin'd were all the ways,
With this same *scrubby, prickly* throng.
FAMINE, you know, with hollow eye,
Can't bear that PLENTY should be by.

And our new minister of state
Resolv'd to triumph o'er his foes:
The *Thorn* and he were wond'rous great,
But he could not abide the *Rose*.
Pleas'd with the new-got toy of pow'r,
He turn'd out this, and t'other flower.

Banish'd the *Laurel* with disgrace,
And what made many people sport,
To fill the *Laurel's* vacant place,
Came broad-leaf'd cousin *Dock* to court.
Bardana then with saunt'ring pace
Came simp'ring up to thank his grace.

Wh

When a damn'd fly upon my nose,
Which surely ow'd me no good-will,
Wak'd me at once, and as I rose,
Whom should I see but *doctor Hill*!

Numb. XXVII. Saturday, Dec. 4, 1762.

Cereus in vitium flecti, MONITORIBUS asper.

HORACE.

Waxen to vice, to ADMONITION rough.

ALMOST every man I meet looks strangely
on me---some industriously avoid me---
others pass me silent---and stare---shake their
heads.---Those few, those very few, who are
not afraid to take a lover of his country by the
hand, congratulate me on my being alive and
liberty---They advise circumspection---for,
they do not know---they cannot tell---but---
at times---Liberty is precious---fines---imprisonment---pillory---not indeed that they them-
selves---but---then in truth-----God only
knows,----

My correspondents likewise, those who
were most sanguine in the cause, who were
the most ready to encourage and assist me in
my undertaking, are tainted with suspicion and

fear; and those letters which used to breathe the genuine spirit of *old English liberty*, are become insipid, tame, and languid. Caution hath got the better of every public virtue, and discretion is substituted in the place of true wisdom. Not content with thus basely flying from their colours themselves, they would tempt me to follow the infamous example; and as an inducement thereto, propose the consideration of my own safety. If, however, they expect their solicitations to have any weight, let them come forth from their fastnesses where fear hath entrenched them; let them no longer talk in the clouds, no longer satisfy themselves with general admonitions; but honestly descend to particulars, and declare the cause on which those admonitions are grounded. Let them point out, if they can, and if they dare, from whom, and on what account, I am in danger, before they produce it as a motive to affect my conduct; and plainly shall they prove that I have deserved punishment, before they shall oppress me with the fear of it. The laws, I am certain, are of no party; nor will I harbour one moment's doubt of those who are appointed to put them in force. Fear is the proper companion of guilt only; and I have not yet learned to call a sincere and uniform love of my king, and my country, by that name.

Thi

This humour of suspicion seems to have taken its rise from the confinement of some persons concerned in the *Monitor*; but how doth that affect the *North Briton*? In our opinions, perhaps, we may agree; in our mode of communicating them, we certainly differ; and with relation to consequences, stand wholly unconnected. Some writers in the *Monitor* have been taken into custody; and, for my own part, whatever may be the language of popular prejudice, I will suppose on substantial grounds. On a careful perusal of those papers, indeed, I have found nothing within the gripe of the law, according to my humble apprehensions; but I have happily taught myself the useful lesson, that those who are superior to me in rank, must, of consequence, be superior in understanding also; and that a great man can see farther into a millstone than one of low degree. But, besides this grand article of *state creeds*, circumstances all concur, and, I make no doubt, but the event will join, to justify the apprehensions of those gentlemen. The liberty of the press, that bulwark of the liberties of the people, is so deservedly esteemed, that every attack made on it is productive of danger. Punishments inflicted on even the licentiousness of it are unpopular, and have been attended with disagreeable consequences. It cannot then be ima-

gined by any candid man, that at this juncture any step should be taken, which might be deemed a wanton, vexatious, and oppressive infringement of that glorious privilege. The particulars of that procedure have not, indeed, transpired; but, till the contrary appears, it is a justice we owe to every administration, to suppose they have some reason for what they do. To take any man into custody, and deprive him of his liberty, without having some seeming foundation at least, on which to justify such a step, is inconsistent with wisdom and sound policy. If, upon examination, (which, surely, the common feelings of humanity would suggest ought to be as speedy as possible) that foundation proves weak, then to detain those persons, or to oblige them to give in bail, in order to obtain a discharge, which, under such circumstances, they have a right to do in the most free and absolute manner, is inconsistent with justice; and from thence I conclude, proceeding on the well-known wisdom and equity of the present administration, that we may now believe, and shall hereafter be convinced, that this step was warranted by weighty and sufficient reasons.

The abettors of faction, who, to promote their seditious designs, and sow discontent amongst the people, will say any thing, have
under

undertaken to relate the particulars of this affair, and to account for some circumstances of it, tho' I suppose, no better informed than I myself am. They presume to point out the very papers complained of, and say (but *that---no---that* we cannot believe) the complaint was carried back against papers, written some months before; and from thence they form arguments and draw inferences, the mighty absurdity of which is evident to the most common reader. For---thus they talk---if that paper is criminal now, it was criminal at the first moment of its publication. Why then not taken notice of before this time? Because---thus, you see, these curious politicians are question and answer both---because it would then have served no particular purpose---but now, at this important and critical juncture, it might be of excellent use to stop the mouths of those who imagine it possible to love their country, although they exclaim against the minister; and who really sigh for a good peace, yet might be inclined to represent the false preliminaries handed about, as most infamous and injurious to England.

These children of disaffection have dared likewise to insinuate, that there is no intention
of

of prosecuting* this any farther; that bail was given in merely for a colour, and to save appearances; that some private conditions are settled, (as now and then in more *public treaties* we have met with a secret article which has rendered all that was published of little or none effect) and that the terrors of a prosecution are to hang over their heads without being enforced. Shallow and impudent pretence! Will any minister lay himself thus open to censure? If there are no grounds of complaint, why were they obliged to give in bail? If there are, why should they not be brought to justice? To insist on bail, in the first instance, is an oppression of individuals: to drop the prosecution is, in the last instance, a desertion of the public: nor can I well discern, however different they are in degree, where, as to complexion, the compromising a misdemeanor differs from compounding a felony.

As little credit ought these malevolent spirits to meet with when they suggest, that passages to be found in history, and fairly quoted word for word, with considerations on the supposed preliminaries, and general thoughts on the

* No prosecution was carried on, and all recognizances are now actually discharged.

peace, were the ground-work of this complaint.

Passages of history, of what nature soever, communicated to the public, without any parallel drawn, without any comment or application made, can never be proper objects of the law. Should this ever be the case, we must be cautious how we quote scripture in our sermons, lest our churches be turned into gaols, and our pulpits into pillories. It may be dangerous to talk of the differences between the children of Israel and Judah; and to say, that the former had ten parts in the *king* (when the latter had but two) and therefore ought to have been consulted, may be ingeniously construed into whatever crimes misinterpreters shall think fit. Not he, who merely quotes an historical passage, but he who makes the application, is the libeller. If ever the strong hand of authority should so far prevail over truth and reason, as to maintain the contrary, and establish a doctrine so novel and erroneous, we may then bid adieu to the liberty of the press.

Much less can we believe that to have considered the supposed *preliminaries*, and to have thrown out thoughts on the subject of *peace*, was made any part of a criminal charge. The *peace* deserves, and indeed demands, the serious consideration, for it is the near concern, of every

of prosecuting* this any farther; that bail was given in merely for a colour, and to save appearances; that some private conditions are settled, (as now and then in more *public treaties* we have met with a secret article which has rendered all that was published of little or none effect) and that the terrors of a prosecution are to hang over their heads without being enforced. Shallow and impudent pretence! Will any minister lay himself thus open to censure? If there are no grounds of complaint, why were they obliged to give in bail? If there are, why should they not be brought to justice? To insist on bail, in the first instance, is an oppression of individuals: to drop the prosecution is, in the last instance, a desertion of the public: nor can I well discern, however different they are in degree, where, as to complexion, the compromising a misdemeanor differs from compounding a felony.

As little credit ought these malevolent spirits to meet with when they suggest, that passages to be found in history, and fairly quoted word for word, with considerations on the supposed preliminaries, and general thoughts on the

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every individual. Where the right of making *peace*, and where the right of examining it, when made, is placed, we all know; but every man, surely, hath a right to have, and to give an opinion in an affair, where he himself is so materially interested. Should the *peace* be of such a nature, as to procure us those advantages we have a right to expect, and to provide every human method of securing them to us; where is the man who loves his country, that will not suspend all partial and narrow considerations to applaud those who were concerned in accomplishing it? But should it, which God forbid! prove of a different nature, and the seeds of a future war be left in it, where is the Englishman who shall be afraid to condemn it? For our own part, the reason we have not as yet entered upon that subject was, the uncertainty whether the *preliminaries*, as handed about, were true, and our hopes that they were not. For a full gratification in this point we have hitherto waited, and shall postpone our considerations on this head till that satisfaction can be obtained.

One thing, however, I cannot help observing, before I quit this subject, which is the manner in which it is become fashionable to discourse on this head. Those who have little understanding, and those who have no integrity

integrity (no contemptible party for number and power) think that we ought to be satisfied, if the *peace* is much better than we could have expected at the commencement of the war. But this is nothing to the purpose. Our ancient and perfidious enemy forced us into a bloody and expensive (and give me leave to add, however unfashionably, a just and necessary) war, for the maintenance of our rights, and the recovery of what they had deprived us of. From that moment all the expence arising from the war, becomes a part of the original demand on them; and whatever places we take, ought at least, and with the most moderate, to be considered as so many places held as a security for their fulfilling the engagements entered into, but never executed in former treaties; for their adjusting the differences, on which the war was grounded in our favour, and for the repayment of those sums which we expended in bringing them to reason. But, in this case, I should venture to go one step farther, nor scruple to assert, that to have a *peace* adequate to our successes, we must see preliminaries very different from those handed about. All the places we have conquered are actually ours, and I cannot sufficiently admire the complaisance of the French, who are willing to cede, as they are pleased to call it, what

this

is already in our possession, and what they have no prospect of recovering. Canada is at this instant as much ours as Gibraltar: and the rest of our conquests admit as little dispute. How far generosity may influence us, I cannot determine; but, I hope, we shall be just to ourselves, before we think of being generous to them. To what extent a prudential consideration of our own home situation ought to prevail, I shall hereafter examine; and shall only say at present, that how strictly adequate these supposed preliminaries are to our successes, will appear from the equality of what each party is to surrender to the other, as may be at one view seen by the following state of them.

Guadaloupe
 Mariegalante
 Desirade
 Martinique
 Right of fishing and curing on
 Newfoundland
 St. Peter
 Miquelon
 Pondicherry, and all their
 settlements in the East-
 Indies
 Goree
 Belleisle
 St. Lucia

MINORCA

Three new
 islands of
 Num

Numb. XXVIII. Saturday, Dec. 11, 1762.

When the king signed the ratification of the *preliminaries*, he said to those about him, *that he had never written his name with more pleasure.*

All the foreign Gazettes.

IT is with the deepest concern, astonishment, and indignation, that the *preliminary articles of peace* have been received by the public. They are of such a nature, that they more resemble the antient treaties of friendship and alliance between *France* and her *old, firm ally, Scotland*, than any which have ever subsisted between that power, and her *natural enemy, England*. The *Preliminaries*, which were communicated by a *Scotsman* to the *London Chronicle*, and published so early as the 9th of *November* in that paper, gave a general alarm; yet, those published *by authority*, are, in many respects, less adequate to what *England* has now a right to expect. I shall only instance in two points, respecting the important article of the *Newfoundland fishery*. In the genuine *preliminaries* the *French* are not *excluded from fishing in the gulph of St. Lawrence*, as is asserted in the *London Chronicle*. On the contrary,
Article

Article III. expressly says, *His BRITANNIC Majesty consents to leave to the Most CHRISTIAN King's subjects the liberty to fish in the gulph of St. Lawrence, on condition, that the subjects of France do not exercise the said fishery, but at the distance of three leagues from all the coasts belonging to Great Britain, as well those of the continent, as those of the islands situated in the said gulph of St. Lawrence*: a grant, which, if they improve it, will turn out to be a grant of the whole fishery, unless our wise ministry will contrive to erect sea-marks, to be visible through the eternal fogs of those seas, and to have them guarded by the whole fleet of England. Mr. Pitt found himself so ill supported in the cabinet, and was so much over-ruled in some important points, that he did at length agree to leave this privilege to the French, for the sake of peace at that time; but the last year he declared in a great assembly, that he repented having done it, that it was worth while, even at the present great expence, to carry on the war another year, for the sake of preserving that fishery entire to England, and that if we made any future acquisitions of importance he put in his claim, to be for an absolute exclusive right in this nation, and never would consent to admit the French to the smallest share of the fishery. The war has been

carried on another year; we have since conquered Martinique, the Havannah, &c. we have recovered all Hanover, almost all Hesse, &c. our ally the king of Prussia is triumphant; yet the fishery is now in a worse state than it was by the former negotiation. That rock, St. Peter only, (for the fertile Miquelon was not included by the answer of England to the ultimatum of France) was ceded to France, on the express condition, *that an English commissary shall be allowed to reside there, and the commander of the British Squadron at Newfoundland, shall be at liberty from time to time to inspect the said isle and the said port, to see that the stipulations above expressed, of no fortifications, no military establishment, &c. are punctually observed.* The *London Chronicle* says, that *Miquelon and St. Peter's are subject to the inspection of an English commissary, by the present preliminaries: but no such provision is to be found in them.* The only security the present minister has taken is (in Article IV.) the French king's *Royal Word*, so often pledged to this nation, and almost as often violated. I will just take notice that Miquelon seems to have been yielded to France merely from wantonness, or ridiculous generosity: for in the *Memoire Historique* it is said, *the cession of the isle of St. Peter was accepted on conditions more than burdensome:*

thence: the union of *Miquelon* to *St. Peter*, was of the least consequence, and the duke de *Choiseul* even assured *Mr. Stanley*, that such a cession would not be insisted on.

According to the Preliminaries, now published by *Authority*, the cessions to be made to France were fairly stated in the last NORTH BRITON. The immense sacrifices we have made to the ancient enemy of these kingdoms seem neither to have arisen from necessity, nor to be warranted by any rules of sound policy. Almost all the glorious advantages we had gained over our most restless and perfidious foe, our ministers have given away; and in consequence of this weakness, or of this treachery, the trade and commerce of France will soon be in a more flourishing state than in the most prosperous times since their monarchy began, and ours in the same proportion will decline. The sugar islands are restored to them greatly improved, by all the arts of English cultivation very soon to rival, perhaps, to ruin, our own colonies. We have indeed, planted, but they are to reap the harvest. The *French king*, by a stroke of his pen, has regained what all the power of that nation, and her allies, could never have recovered; and England, once more the dupe of a subtle negotiation, has consented to give up very nearly all her co-

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quests, the purchase of such immense public treasure; and the blood of so many noble and brave families. Is it therefore at all surprising, that on this occasion, the most frantic symptoms of insolent joy and triumph have been remarked in France, and of grief and dejection in England? What right have we to expect that an indulgent Providence will again in so distinguished a manner stand forth our friend, when we have thus wantonly given away to the enemy of our religion and liberty, the fruits of all the signal blessings heaven has poured down upon us?

This nation has ever been renowned for the bravest warriors, France for the ablest negotiators. Philip de Comines observes, b. 3, c. 8. *Jamais ne se mena traité, &c.* In all treaties between the French and English, the French have shewn more dexterity and subtlety than the English; and the English have a proverb, as they told me formerly, when I treated with them, that in almost all battles with the French, they have had the honour and victory, but in all treaties, the loss and damage. And again, b. 4, c. 9. *Et sans point de doute, &c.* Without doubt the English are not so subtle as the French, for they go bluntly to work; but you must have patience, and never debate angrily with them. In the great duke of Marlborough the two characters of a warrior

and a negotiator shone forth with full lustre, and were united in the Englishman. He had often defeated the most renowned generals France could send into the field; and in 1709, he baffled all the arts, and eluded the finesse of the two best negotiators Lewis XIV. could employ, Rouillé and Torcy.

In two great points particularly, the French have been superior to all the policed states of Europe. The one is the sowing divisions among the allies of a hostile confederacy; the other, a happy dexterity of making with infinite *secrecy*, politeness and address, the largest *private offers* to those, who have been in a situation and capacity of seconding their ambitious views.

The first was the case in the grand alliance at the beginning of this century. Lord Walpole says, *the superior genius of the duke of Marlborough made this principle a fundamental rule of all his conduct, and it constantly prevailed, and was attended with incredible success, as long as he remained at the head of the last grand alliance.* He speaks of preserving a perfect harmony between all the contracting powers; and afterwards adds, *the intrigues, and artifices of France had no more influence on the councils of the allies than her arms had success in the military operations: the whole body seemed to be actuated by*

soul, to such a degree, and with so good an effect, that a general peace, in all human appearance, as honourable, safe, and satisfactory to all the allies, would have been concluded, as the war had been conducted with unanimity and glory, but the humoursome and ungrateful carriage of one proud WOMAN, &c. p. 127. We have experienced in our times something very similar to what is related of the beginning of the present century, though I do not know of any woman's having now in the least broke into the great political line. I mean to say, that of late, by the superior genius of one man, the war in the four quarters of the world has been successful beyond the examples of all former ages, and the most entire confidence has prevailed, both among our people at home, and our allies abroad. By the evil genius of another man, which has issued forth, black as the whirlwinds of the North, distrust and dissensions have arose, and the firmest bonds of union have split, and been dissolved. We were, as all the world imagined, just entering on the ways that promised to lead to such a peace, as would have answered all the prayers of our religious king, the care and vigilance of a most able ministry, the payments of a willing and obedient people, as well as all the glorious toils and hazards of the soldiers, when (as was observed by the wise lord---bishop of St.

Asaph in the preface to his four famous sermons) God, for our sins, permitted the spirit of discord to go forth with the new minister, to embitter all our present enjoyments, and to blast all our future hopes.

Upon the removal of the duke of Marlborough, the Dutch and all the confederate powers of that war withdrew all confidence from England. On the resignation of Mr. PITT the strongest assurances were given by lord *Bute*, then secretary of State for the northern department, to all the German allies, that the measures, respecting that part of the war, would be carried on with redoubled vigour; yet the world knows how little that declaration from him was believed, or trusted to. The preliminary articles speak pretty plainly the sentiments of the new minister. It is stipulated that some of our allies are to have their countries *restored* to them: the elector of Hanover, Landgrave of Hesse, duke of Brunswic, and even the count of La Lippe Buckebourg, though it is known at the moment of signing the preliminaries, the French were scarcely in possession of ten villages, and not much above an hundred acres belonging to all those princes together; but the king of Prussia's dominions, Cleves, Wesel, Gueldres, &c, which they now fully possess, are only to be evacu-

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ated; perhaps for Austrian troops to enter the hour after the evacuation: the declaration likewise, signed the same day with the Preliminaries, gives the French court a full liberty of paying all their arrears to their allies, under which colour the largest pecuniary succours may be given to the house of Austria, and the 13th article may be entirely evaded. England, on the other hand, is tied up from affording any kind of assistance to her allies, while France, whose revenues are now diverted no other way, is put in a capacity to give as ample aids as she chuses. Is so palpable an evasion as this consistent with the good faith for which the crown of England has ever been celebrated? Or, is it possible not to have been observed? In that case, we may hope to see it rectified in the *definitive treaty*; and this, to be sure, is the only idea of submitting the *preliminaries* to public view.

Another *French* mode of negotiating is by a *secret* and *private* application, in a way which *avarice* can seldom withstand, to those who have the power of carrying their views into execution. *D'Estrades's* letters demonstrate in what manner *Lewis XIV.* recovered *Dunkirk*, the infamous sale of which single town, has fixed an indelible stain on the memory of *Clarendon*. Sir *Stephen Fox*, the father of the excellent

cellent *paymaster* of our forces, and of our —, was the person sent to France on this occasion, and he received the greatest part of the *five millions* of livres, the price of that atrocious villainy. What attempts were made on the duke of *Marlborough*, I shall relate from a *private* letter of *Lewis XIV.* to *Torcy*, because that author is in such wonderful credit with my friend the AUDITOR, *Je ne doute pas que vous ne profitiez, &c.* “ I do not in the least
 “ question but you avail yourself of the opportunities you have of seeing the duke of
 “ *Marlborough*, to let him know, that I have
 “ been informed of the steps he has taken to
 “ hinder the progress of the conferences of
 “ peace, and even to break them off entirely;
 “ that I have been so much the more surprised at it, as I had reason to believe
 “ from the assurances he had already given, that he was willing to contribute to this end
 “ that I should be glad his conduct was such as
 “ to deserve THE REWARD I HAVE PROMISED
 “ HIM; and in order that you may be able to
 “ come to a clearer explanation, I am willing
 “ you should give him a positive assurance, that
 “ I will remit TWO MILLIONS of livres to him
 “ if, by his good offices, he can obtain one of
 “ the following conditions for me.

“ T

“ To preserve Naples and Sicily for the
 “ king my grandson, or at the utmost ex-
 “ tremity to preserve Naples only. I should
 “ make him the same gratification were he to
 “ preserve Dunkirk under my obedience, with
 “ its harbour and fortifications, without even
 “ Naples or Sicily ; the same for preserving
 “ Strasburg only, excepting Fort Kehl, which
 “ I shall give up to the empire in the state it
 “ was in when restored to my obedience ; and
 “ also, without preserving Naples or Sicily :
 “ but of all these different expedients, the ob-
 “ taining Naples for my grandson, is that
 “ which I should like the best.

“ I should consent to extend this recom-
 “ pence to THREE MILLIONS, if he obtained
 “ Naples for my grandson, and at the same
 “ time I was permitted to keep Dunkirk, with
 “ its fortifications and harbour. If I should
 “ be obliged to relinquish the article of Dun-
 “ kirk, I should give him the same sum, could
 “ he contrive so as to preserve Naples and
 “ Strasburg, in the manner as above explain-
 “ ed, and Landau, with its fortifications, by
 “ giving up Brisac ; or even could I be al-
 “ lowed to keep Strasburg and Dunkirk,
 “ both in their present condition. In short,
 “ I am willing you should offer the duke of
 “ *Marlborough* FOUR MILLIONS, should he
 “ enable

“ enable me to keep Naples and Sicily for the
 “ king my grandson, and to preserve Dunkirk
 “ with its fortifications and harbour, and
 “ Strasburg and Landau, in the manner above
 “ explained, or even the same sum, were Si-
 “ cily to be exempted out of this last article.”

Memoires de Torcy, tom. II. p. 237.

Numb. XXIX. Saturday, Dec. 18, 1769.

O ACADEMIAM volaticam et sui similem, modò huc,
 modò illuc!

O volatile UNIVERSITY, and truly resembling itself, fluctu-
 ating now here, now there.

Mr. NORTH BRITON,

YOU politicians of the town are so totally
 engaged in the transactions of the great
 world, that I suppose, you will hardly think
 worth while to take notice of any occurrence
 however important, that happen amongst the
 obscure folks of the country. Let me hope
 however, for once, that the concerns of a pri-
 vate family, as they are considerable enough
 to have been the talk of two or three of our
 neighbouring counties, may find a place

your publication. They contain very ample instruction to all masters and mistresses not to be misled by the arts of crafty and intriguing servants; and as the nation itself is but a larger family, and the servants of that family are as apt to be corrupt as those of any other, my subject may, I think, in some sort be allowed to be of public use and application.

The family of the Wiseacres are of long standing in this county. It is agreed on all hands that they are, at least, as old as the days of king Alfred. About three months ago, the present lady Wiseacre* lost her late husband. The poor gentleman was old and infirm; and as his death had been some time expected, the news of it was received, even by her ladyship herself, with very little signs of grief and emotion. After enquiring whether he had left her any thing by his will, and being answered in the negative, she dropped all farther thought about him, and began to contrive how she might provide herself with another husband. This, you will allow, would have been a natural method of proceeding in a young widow; but must appear a little indecent in a woman of her ladyship's age and matron-like appearance. But such had always

* The university of Oxford, founded by king Alfred.

been

been the way with her. She had had more husbands than might have satisfied half the reasonable women in the neighbourhood. In short, she always made good use of her time; she never buried one, but, within three weeks or a month after his decease, she was married to another. There was something particular, likewise, in her method of conducting her choice on these occasions. She always referred the affair to the people of her family; and she made no scruple of taking to her bed whatever suitor had the majority of votes amongst them.

One of the first that was mentioned on the late occasion was lord *Sapling* † He is a young nobleman of the best family in the country, and every way worthy of her ladyship's regard and affection. He had spent some years in the same house with her, when she seemed much pleased with his exemplary behaviour and very amiable disposition. He was a great favourite with many of the honest and disinterested part of her domestics; and her late husband was pleased to take particular notice of him, and once, in a very large company, and upon a very solemn occasion, protested that he had never seen a more hopeful young gentleman.

† Lord *Suffolk*.

The next was lord *Safe* *. He is a very honest and worthy man, and withal a very prudent and wary one. He would have made a very good master of a family, especially in matters of œconomy.

But the person we are most concerned with, and whose character will require a more particular developement, is captain *Giddy* †. The captain was a sprightly fellow in his youth; and is remembered about twenty years ago, to have made a very good speech or two at some of your public meetings in London. From that time, however, the figure he hath made in the world hath not been much to his credit. The chief of his company, till within these two years, have been parsons and country squires. These used to lead him about to races, cock-matches, and country clubs, where he was apt sometimes to drink a little too freely. A course of life of this sort brought on a *swimming in his head*; so that he hath frequently been supposed not to be sensible where he was, or what he was about. Hence he hath been known in the late times of party violence, in the same sort of company, and within a few days of each other, to drink exclusion to the

* Lord Foley.

† Lord Litchfield.

house of Hanover, and confusion to all Jacobites.

But the matter which bore hardest upon the captain's character was the cruel treatment he was guilty of towards his former wife. She was a very honest country gentlewoman, and had brought the captain for her fortune, a very large accession of command and interest in the county, which had been long vested in her family. Her right to it, however, was contested, soon after the marriage by a younger lady, a mere stranger; who, by the contrivance of Mr. Doubletongue, the referee, and the shuffling proceedings of some lawyers at Westminster, found means to carry her cause against Mrs. Giddy. The captain hereupon bounced, and swaggered, and swore; and vowed that before seven years were over, (in which time he should have an opportunity of bringing the matter again to a trial) he would have public satisfaction for such flagrant and public injustice. It was found however, before that time came, that the captain, notwithstanding all his blustering, had been drawn into, or rather had himself projected a most shameful compromise with the adverse party; and had agreed to divide the matter in dispute between

|| The Old Interest or Jacobitism.

ther

them. To secure the execution of this scheme against all opposition, he determined to get rid of his wife. It hath been impossible to get to the knowledge of all the circumstances of this dark story. Thus much, however, is certain, that when a view was taken of the corpse in the county-hall, it appeared that it was all over full of *blue* and *green* spots†, with many other tokens of violence upon it: particularly a large *black mark* under the throat, in which, it was said, might plainly be observed the traces of the captain's own hand.

Perhaps, I ought to have told you before, that the captain had paid his addresses to lady Wiseacre at the same time she was courted by her late husband. His pretensions, however, for that turn, were easily set aside. To say the truth, Mr. NORTH BRITON, it was proved against him, that he was absolutely *incapable* of being her husband to any good effect§. The

† Alluding to the different coloured ribbons were by the two parties, as badges of their affection to the cause they espoused.

§ There was a particular statute in the university, that no person who was a freeman of the city of Oxford, could be a member of the university; whereby it was determined, that Mr. Litchfield, who was a member of the tailors company, was disqualified from being elected Chancellor. Very soon after lord Westmoreland's election, in order to remove this obstacle on another occasion, he had interest enough to get this statute repealed.

modestly

modesty of my pen will not suffer me to be too particular upon this part of the captain's history. I have hinted before that he was apt to keep low company. It happened one day that he dined in the next town with a club of taylors, when the frolic was set on foot of *making him free*, as they called it; that is, of making him like one of themselves, which was immediately put in execution. This story soon got to the ears of lady Wiseacre; who vowed she would have nothing more to say to him, and that, as she deserved a whole man as well as any widow in the kingdom, she would not do so much injustice to herself and her family, as to be contented with the ninth part of one.

How the captain's matters, in this respect, were patched up afterwards, whether by tacking on again what had been snipt off, or by what other means, it would be difficult and tedious to relate. It is certain, however, that more than two years ago, he was pronounced a *good man* again by a great majority of lady Wiseacre's domestics; by some of them, perhaps, with a view of promoting his farther designs upon their mistress.

Having given a sufficient account of the three competitors, I shall hasten as fast as possible to the catastrophe of my story. The confusion and irregularities which had prevailed, for some

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years, in lady Wiseacre's family, required the aid of a vigorous and active master to correct and reform them. No house had formerly been more exemplary to the whole country for the great decency and order maintained in it: but, of late, things were much altered. The younger servants were suffered to run loose about the country. Not one in ten of them could say his catechism. Very few of them could read; and even those who ought to have read to them*, either could not, or would not do it. It lay, in a great measure, upon the upper servants to rectify these matters; and the time of chusing a new husband for lady Wiseacre gave them an opportunity of taking the main step towards it. We shall now see in what manner they made use of it.

Their old master was no sooner dead than Mrs. Browne, the house-keeper†, who is mistress of all that female wisdom called cunning, summoned together the head-servants§ of the scullery ||, with the design of taking their sentiments on the face of affairs in the fa-

The professors in every science, who have large salaries for reading public lectures, but are so idle and infamous as not to

Doctor Brown, the present vice-chancellor.

The heads of houses.

A place called Golgotha; where the heads of houses meet to consult about the business of the university.

mily; or rather with a view of dictating her own. After opening the business of the meeting;----“ Look ye, gentlemen, says she, I will have nothing to do with that lord *Sappling*. ---I will not be governed by a boy; and what is still worse, I will not be governed by a lawyer *Kcene* †. You know very well, Mr. *Puff* ¶, said she, (speaking to *Peter* the paltry cook) what a noise that fellow made some years ago, upon looking into one part of the accounts, and finding the paltry sum of *twenty thousand pounds* placed on the wrong side of the book*.” Aye, aye, says Peter, *I shall never forget it. No lawyers, no lawyers.* Immediately the cry of *no lawyers* ran through the company; and thus concluded the fate of poor lord *Sappling*, who, though the fittest in the world to do the lady’s business, lost all hopes of success from the untoward circumstance.

† Dr. Blackstone, Vinerian Professor of civil law, and Principal of New-Inn Hall.

¶ Dr. Niblett, warden of All-Souls college, commonly called Puff Niblett, from his puffing and blowing when he speaks.

* A very few years ago Dr. Blackstone being chosen one of the delegates of the university press, inspected the accounts and found there ought to have been in the chest twenty thousand pounds, not a farthing of which sum could be produced and accounted for, it having, as is generally imagined, been spent in feasting, &c. which work of iniquity he published to the university.

his being intimately acquainted with an honest lawyer.

"As for lord *Safe*, continued Mrs. *Browne*, we want none of his œconomy here. It would be little for the credit of lady *Wifeacre's* house-keeping to have the plumbs weighed out for the pudding, or a weekly view taken of the wine-cellar;—besides, I am not sure, that he is not upon pretty good terms with *another lawyer*.†"

"Turn your eyes, therefore, gentlemen, towards my noble captain. There's the man will take us to a hair. If my lady marries him, he hath assured me, (for he called here this morning) that all things shall go on in the same quiet road. We shall have our turkey and sters as usual, with the best turbot in the season by the Birmingham coach; and you all know, gentlemen, that the venison of Ditchly is as good as any in the neighbourhood." The very sound of turkies, turbot and venison, of *much to be eaten, and nothing to be done*, put a stop to all farther deliberation, and immediately secured the votes and interests of the whole meeting for the captain.

This was a very good beginning; but things might not have ended so well, had it not been for a countryman of yours, Mr. NORTH BRI-

† Lord Mansfield.

TON*, who, having cultivated an interest among the lower servants, and having some little design of his own to serve upon the lady, determined to drive them all into the assistance of the captain. Thus the game was secure for him, and he carried off his prize (for lord Safe's people were determined to stand it out) by a majority of almost two to one.

The wedding was celebrated at the captain's own house†, with such a profusion as had never been known within those walls. The banquet was suffered to extend itself almost to the whole length of the first table; there was four port at the second; and an enormous quantity of punch, which, according to the rule in Horace, had been *NINE years in bottle*, was distributed among the servants.

But, alas! amidst all this jollity, a cloud of melancholy was perceived to overspread the face of lady Wiseacre. She could not, without concern, observe the strange mixture of company which the captain had got together for her reception: and she began to conclude from hence, that she was at length betrayed

* Alluding to the influence lord Bute had on some colleagues and his sending them a peremptory order to vote for Litchfield.

† The Chancellor was installed at Ditchly, by a deputy of the members of the university.

to the hands of those, who had always been
 the professed enemies of her and her family.
 These suspicions were but too truly the pre-
 sages of her ensuing misfortunes. The cap-
 tain, for near two years before, had spent
 great part of his time at a bagnio, near St.
 James's, and for reasons which may be easily
 guessed, was no longer possessed of that stock
 of athletic health and vigour which he used to
 enjoy when he resided more constantly in the
 country. It was likewise soon discovered that
 the married lady Wiseacre as much for the use of
 the *Scotsman*, to whom she hath been prostit-
 uted, as for his own. The effect of this
 complication of corrupt embraces hath shewn
 itself in the breaking out of blotches and blains
 over her, to the utter ruin of the poor wo-
 man's constitution as well as her character.
 In short, those who speak out plainly do not
 scruple to affirm, that she hath caught the
 venereal pox from her husband, and the i—h from her
 gallant. She now subsists to shew, by her sad
 example, that the most established female virtue
 may fall a prey to the most contemptible assailant,
 when assisted by the FALSEHOOD and TREACHERY
 of pretended friends.

I am, Sir, yours, &c.

N. N.

Numb. XXX. Saturday, Dec. 25, 1762

Venit hoc mihi, Megadore, in mentem, te esse hominem
divitem, factiosum.

I have taken it into my head, my friend, that you are a rich
factious person.

IN all political disputes, the word *faction* is much in esteem, and generally applied to the weaker side, though, perhaps, there is not the least reason to justify that application. By a *faction* we mean nothing more than a party formed in a state without any consideration had to the principles on which it is formed, the means by which it is conducted, and the ends to which it is directed; in this sense, the word is equally applicable to all parties, be their purposes good or bad, and comes entirely divested of that unfavourable idea, which usually attends it. But, if by *faction* we mean, according to general acceptance, a set of men formed into a party on seditious and selfish principles, and determined at all events, to oppose the friends and sacrifice the interests of the public to their own base private views; in this sense of the word

beco

becomes us to be extremely cautious how we apply it. We ought fairly and candidly to examine both sides of the question, impartially weigh their several merits, and place it there only, where justice declares it to be due. If we regulate ourselves according to the directions of reason, we shall, I trust, on such an inquiry as is here proposed, find the word *faction* as often applicable to the greater number, as to the less, and shall have as frequent right to give it to the abettors of an administration as to the supporters of an opposition.

One sure and infallible *criterion*, by which every man may find out a *faction* with the most absolute certainty, is, the wicked art of sowing discord, and infusing of groundless jealousies among the people; whether directed against their old and firm friends, or their great and spirited allies. The first weekly political paper, which has appeared since the change of the ministry, and has been countenanced and favoured by government, was the *BRITON*, who, as abused, in the most indecent terms, his Majesty's royal grandfather, our protestant ally the king of Prussia, the city of London, its magistrate, and the *people of England*. This was the first wretch hired to ring the alarm bell of discord and sedition. The unvaried labours of some others, for the four

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last years, to blast the laurels of *one man*, we all remember; and what arts are made use of to inflame the people against him, ever since the SCOT assumed the reins of government. Let facts speak. Are we not now become an uneasy, distrustful, and divided people? And were we not a happy, confiding, and united nation, respected abroad, and blessed at home? Does not the present ministry occasion the greatest disunion and animosity ever remembered in this country? Are they not in the highest degree culpable of endangering the alienation of the best-intentioned subjects from the most gracious of sovereigns? Did not the late ministry preserve union and harmony in the nation; and had they not the confidence of the public in an unlimited manner? Whence has the change arisen? The progress of the present *daring exertion* of the new minister's *enormous power* is worth remarking. The first sacrifice to feed his proud arrogance, and to gratify his haughty and imperious nature, was Mr. Legge, that able and faithful *chancellor of the Exchequer*, who never presumed to present an account to parliament, without being able to give real satisfaction on every article in it, and was ever ready to answer even the acute Sir John Philips, on every part of the demand made on the public; though it might have

con-

consisted of above two hundred articles, and have amounted to upwards of 1,500,000/*. He was *turned out* solely from a personal pique of the minister. Mr. *Pitt*, and the noble lord, his brother, not very long after, quitted the administration, on their rejecting so wise and solid a plan of national honour, and indeed justice, that if it had been adopted, above half the destined victims of temerity and ignorance which have fallen at the *Havannah*, had now, in all human probability, been alive, to have shared in the *late* glories of their country. The next sacrifice was the old, faithful servant of the crown, the *duke of Newcastle*.—I will now only say, that the new minister, under the pretence of sparing unnecessary taxes on the subject, prevented that noble *duke*, who then presided at the *treasury*, from raising an additional million, which the public creditors, in every department of government, now clamour for from a treasury, which cannot, or will not pay them. The *duke of Devonshire* has likewise nobly disdained to suffer a name so auspicious to liberty, to be ranked among those

* Sir John Philipps, as usual, began the last session to nibble at the public accounts; but Sir Francis Dashwood, the new Chancellor, would not gratify so impertinent a curiosity. Sir John in vain catechised: Sir Francis was not so raw a Catechumen as to give him any answer whatever.

of a *faction*, whose first view seems to establish the *despotism* his family has ever steadily and strenuously opposed. Mr. *Townshend*, whose superior abilities, and extensive knowledge, have been the admiration of mankind, is now in no employment under an administration of so black a cast, but stands as independent as unconnected with any part of it. It is remarkable, though not in the least astonishing, that of all the ministers, who, in the late and present reign, have carried the glory and power of this kingdom beyond that of all former ages, there is not *one* at present in the *cabinet*. Is not this the clearest evidence of *faction* in the new ministry? I do not mention Mr. *Fox*, on this occasion, as one of the ministers, who have carried the glory of England to such a stupendous height; because, after the loss of *Minorca*, the late king, in compliance with the wishes of a whole people, gave the reins of government into abler hands. Mr. *Fox* retired to a post not of ambition, but of avarice. Dead to every feeling of a public nature, the *minister* was lost to his country. The business of the *paymaster* was, indeed, very thoroughly attended to, and every agent, jobber, broker, contractor, schemer, &c. had from him the most fair and patient hearing. As to other things of trifling moment, he

quiet

quietly and silently concurred in all the measures of government, even those of the *German* war, though he is now, after the *preliminaries* are ratified, *very ready to debate that question*†. Is not this avowing, that while it could be of any importance to his country, or of any detriment to himself, he chose to wave that debate; now, when it is merely a point of curiosity, this wary minister wishes, like an artful old sophist, to try the argument?

Do we not then discover clear marks of a *faction's* having seized the helm of government? Are all the most able and successful ministers excluded? Who have succeeded? The creatures of a *Scottish faction*. The friends of liberty and the *revolution* have now no countenance but from the nation. The *Tory faction* is triumphant, and the most slavish doctrine of *passive obedience* and *non-resistance* is preached up by every pamphleteer, and to its full extent insisted upon by an all-grasping minister. Is there a man, who has been zealous in the cause of liberty, or who hesitates about the goodness of the *preliminaries*, who does not think them quite equal to the splendor of the war, and the immense value of our conquests?

† This declaration was made by Mr. Fox in a great assembly, after the ratification of the *preliminaries*.

He is immediately disgraced. We were indeed promised, that in this parliament, under the halcyon reign of a *British* monarch, every man might vote according to the honest dictates of his conscience, without fear of losing the protection he is most ambitious of, or the smiles he most values. The king has nothing to ask of his people, but what their hearts and voices will concur in: a minister, for the support of *his* power, must have all *his* measures approved, and *his* security established by a *majority*. The occurrences of a few days open a new scene to us. Not only the most approved friends of government in the senate, but in almost every part of administration, no longer find protection or favour. A life of forty and sixty years assiduity, with acknowledged integrity, in an important * office, have not been able to save a secretary and a comptroller; but they are ungratefully dismissed, and devoted as victims of the vengeance denounced against their benefactors, though confessed not only innocent, but highly meritorious. Is not this descending to the lowest dregs of *faction*? Are there not in such proceedings the plainest marks of low and selfish designs, and of the interested views of a despicable *faction*?

* Post-Office,

Faction

Faction likewise discovers itself in constantly keeping in view partial, selfish schemes, in opposition to the interests of the public. Thus, in the late negotiations for a peace, when it was asked, why it was not insisted that the fishery should be preserved intire to England, and if refused, the war be carried on another year; the answer always was, *we cannot raise the supplies!* Is not this the language of a self-interested *faction*? The honest answer is clear; *then you ought to resign to those, who can raise the supplies and carry on the war, till we obtain what we have been promised, an equitable and glorious peace.* A wicked *faction* only could purchase an ignoble and inglorious peace, by giving up to the perfidious *French*, and to the feeble and insolent *Spaniard*, our most valuable and important conquests. I will add an *insecure peace*; because, whatever restores *France* to her former power and capacity of injuring her neighbours, renders the *peace insecure* and infallibly draws on another war. *France* will now soon be in possession of all her sugar islands, those great sources of naval strength and of wealth, of the northern fishery, that nursery of seamen; and upwards of twenty thousand seamen are immediately to be given up, *untrained*, to recruit her shattered, almost annihilated fleet, in order to lay the foundations of future

future rivalship of this nation. What ought to be ascribed only to the imbecillity or timidity of our new minister, France already makes a solemn mockery of to heaven, *Dieu, par sa bonté, ne permet pas, que la paix se fit au désavantage de la Maison Royale, & de la France.*

The language of *faction*, has always been remarkable; very plausible and specious, but full of treachery and falsehood. Thus the BRITON, of last Saturday, says, *Who ever dreamed that the boasted success of the French at Newfoundland should add a fresh wreath to the present minister's political garland? We could not imagine, that an unpractised minister should, almost in the twinkling of an eye, have recovered, without expence to the nation, without effusion of blood, that important settlement, to the loss, disgrace, and confusion of our enemies, in such a manner, that the loss was scarcely felt before it was repaired.* Now, that this is the language of *falsehood* and *faction*, will most evidently appear from these two clear proofs. The one is, that the ships which sailed from hence did not arrive till after St. John's, &c. at Newfoundland, was entirely recovered from the French. The other, that the American officers, before the receipt of any orders from Europe, attempted and compleated this great service. Lieutenant-colonel Amherst, in his letter to the Earl of Egremont

say

says, *According to the orders I received from Sir Jeffrey Amherst at New-York, of which your Lordship will have been informed, &c.* It is, therefore, most evident, that the loss of *Newfoundland* ought to be ascribed to the negligence of the new minister, and its recovery to the vigilance of the American officers, and in particular of *Sir Jeffrey Amherst*. I will only mention one fact, relative to the loss of *Newfoundland*, because it is not generally known. It is, that a fortnight before *Mr. Pitt* resigned, he insisted, that *four ships of the line* should be sent for the protection of *Newfoundland*. Such a succour, in all probability, had saved our merchants from a loss not yet, nor likely for some years to be, fully repaired.

I think it is now clear, from the principles and views, as well as the conduct and language of the administration, that the present ministry is a *faction* of a dangerous nature, and most mischievous tendency. An *opposition*, therefore, to measures, evidently calculated on one hand to restore our inveterate enemy, *France*, to her pristine state of greatness, and on the other hand to depress the noble spirit of freedom, by inculcating the mean doctrines of the uncontrollable power, and *independency* of any single part of the British legislature, becomes the duty of every honest man, and every sincere

sincere lover of his country. It was, under such circumstances, at every period, undoubtedly the *duty* of a good man; now it becomes his *glory*; because he is likely in so noble a cause to be reviled and persecuted. Almost every friend of *liberty* and of *revolution principles* has retired, or been dismissed; and it is generally believed, that every person brought in by the duke of Newcastle, is now, by the present minister, to be turned out—except the King.

The NORTH BRITON presents his compliments to the AUDITOR, and returns his best thanks for the insertion of the letter concerning FLORIDA, signed VIATOR, in his last paper, and for the full credit he has given to the several facts it contains.*

* To the AUDITOR.

S I R,

“ AT a time when popular clamour is so
 “ loud, and prejudice so violent, that the still
 “ small voice of truth can scarcely be heard
 “ it is some pleasure to observe that all are not
 “ borne away by the stream, and that you
 though

" though almost single, oppose yourself to
 " its rage, and bravely attempt to stem the tor-
 " rent.

" You have laboured, not unsuccessfully,
 " to undeceive a misguided people, to save
 " them from the strong impressions of artful
 " misrepresentation, and more daring falshood.
 " You alone have refused to condemn men
 " for what they are to do; to censure them for
 " measures never taken, and arraign them for
 " counsels which they did not give. Thus
 " nobly employed in the cause of truth,
 " justice and patriotism, nay, of humanity
 " itself; every little assistance which any one's
 " knowledge may enable him to give you,
 " must, I am persuaded, be acceptable to
 " you. Let me then, Sir, contribute my
 " mite, which, though thrown into a trea-
 " sury, yet is still of some value.

" Great art and much falshood have been
 employed to set every acquisition, made by
 the present treaty of peace, in a contempti-
 ble and disadvantageous light. Countries
 whose value and importance were before
 universally acknowledged, became, the mo-
 ment they were known to be ceded to us,
 of no value and importance. Great towns
 were diminished to paltry villages; populous
 countries were reduced to uninhabited re-

“ gions; and fertile and cultivated provinces
 “ were converted into barren and naked de-
 “ serts. Such has been the fate of Canada;
 “ such has been the fate of Florida. I shall
 “ confine myself to the latter of these: for this
 “ reason, I know the country. Had our po-
 “ litical writers confined themselves within
 “ the same bounds, and argued about nothing
 “ but what they knew, they would have won-
 “ derfully abridged their own labours, and
 “ have imposed much less upon the patience
 “ and credulity of their readers.

“ I have traversed by far the greatest part of
 “ this our new acquisition; and I do assure
 “ you and the public, that I never saw a finer
 “ country than Florida is for the most part.
 “ Neat and comfortable houses on the plan-
 “ tations; well built, though, I confess, small
 “ towns, and these in a well improved, and
 “ richly cultivated country, are what con-
 “ stantly strike the eye of the traveller. What
 “ commercial advantages may be drawn from
 “ it, I leave abler pens to display; I speak
 “ only of the appearance of the country
 “ and yet this leads me to mention one ad-
 “ vantage I apprehend our West-Indian island
 “ may reap from the possession of that country
 “ even in the commercial light. The only
 “ at present, profitable tracts of Florida, are

“ certain

" certain large bogs, or marshy grounds,
 " which produce an excellent kind of fuel;
 " being pretty much the same thing which
 " is called in England peat or turf: of this
 " there is by far a greater quantity than would
 " serve the inhabitants for firing, were they
 " ten times more numerous than they are.
 " Now, Sir, it is a fact notoriously true, and
 " of which I have been an eye-witness, that
 " all kind of fuel is extremely scarce in the
 " West-Indies; I do not mean for boiling
 " the sugars, for with that the trash of the
 " sugar-cane sufficiently supply them, but for
 " domestic uses: for the truth of this I appeal
 " to every gentleman who has been in the
 " West-Indies; indeed the scarcity is such,
 " that I can safely affirm, that not one of the
 " lower kind of the planters have a comfortable
 " fire in their parlours or bed-chambers; nay,
 " even amongst the better sort, I have seldom
 " seen a good fire, though at the severest season
 " of the year. In Jamaica, I am told, the case
 " is otherwise; it may be so, I never was there,
 " and I speak only of what I know. But in
 " Barbadoes, Antigua, St. Christopher's, and
 " Montserrat, I have been, and what I have
 " said, I affirm to be a fact in those islands.
 " Is it then a small advantage to add, and
 " that at a cheap rate, to the conveniences

“ and comforts of our fellow-subjects, fellow-
 “ creatures, and fellow-christians ?

“ Let me add, and then I have done, that
 “ what I have said of those islands is true of
 “ Guadaloupe, that favourite child of a very
 “ indulgent, though, no doubt, very disinter-
 “ ested father, the author of an Examination
 “ of the commercial principles, &c. Possibly
 “ he may have been in Guadaloupe ; let him
 “ contradict me if I assert what is not true,
 “ and I will give him proof as fully convinc-
 “ ing as a Custom-house entry.

I am, Sir, your's, &c.

V I A T O R.

Numb. XXXI. Saturday, Jan. 1, 1763

SOLON rempublicam duabus rebus contineri dixit, PRÆMI-
 & Pœna. CICERO

SOLON said, that Government is maintained by two things
 REWARD and PUNISHMENT.

THE doctrine of *rewards* and *punishments* ha
 always operated in a very powerful man-
 ner on the passions of the weak and selfish

part of mankind. It is a question which would require a nice discussion, whether the *divine* or *politician* has more frequently been obliged to have recourse to it, or has made the most converts by this efficacious application to our *hopes* or *fears*. I own that I am rather inclined to the *politician*, because he brings all his artillery in view, to begin an immediate attack, and in case we do not surrender at *discretion* we see that the effect will be as instantaneous as it is certain. The *divine* allures us with the most pleasing hopes, or alarms us with a prospect of much terror, but then it is believed to be so distant, that the danger seems to diminish, and he is obliged in a good measure to trust to a *reversion* of *rewards* and *punishments*. I am sorry to observe, that man is so short-sighted, as well as suspicious, that these kinds of *reversion* scarcely operate at all; while others of an infamous nature have, on base and groveling minds, produced the most wonderful effects. I have known a *reversion* for three *lives* on the *Irish establishment* operate in so surprising a manner, that with an effrontery, and contempt of parliament, of which only that one man is capable, a modern statesman, some few years ago, ventured to give it under

his hand, that he would *take the conduct of the house of commons* *.

Though I must say, that the iron *ministerial* rod of power was certainly never lifted so high, nor ever fell with so much weight, and unrelenting cruelty on the subject; yet, I am very ready to acknowledge the great sagacity of our politicians in general, and especially of the minister now at the head of the *British* government, in the distribution of *rewards* and *punishments*. I only hesitate a little as to the *quantum*, which does not seem to me always accurately adjusted. I could mention several but I shall confine myself to two striking instances, which by comparison will perhaps be shewn in a stronger light. I mean the *rewards* bestowed on those two very extraordinary gentlemen, Mr. *Pitt* and Mr. *Rigby*. I cannot but be of opinion that they are quite disproportionate to the respective merits of each. Mr. *Pitt* seems to me greatly overpaid: Mr. *Rigby* is penuriously dealt with, if we consider the variety and importance of his services. Mr. *Pitt*, from the annuity he enjoys, does not receive quite 2,200*l.* a year. Mr. *Rigby* is *Master of the Rolls in Ireland*: which

* The Right Honourable *Henry Fox*, Esquire.

1,600*L.* a year, and is likewise one of the *Vice-Treasurers* of that kingdom, which is a good 3,000*L.* more. Mr. *Rigby* has then in all 4600*L.* a year, which is little more than twice what Mr. *Pitt* receives from the public. Mr. *Pitt's* services, however, have been formerly acknowledged by his sovereign to be great and important†: Mr. *Rigby's* have not that éclat. The reason perhaps may be, because they are *secret services*; perhaps ought to remain so; and from the modesty of their nature, as well as of their author, should not only carefully be kept from the glare of ostentation, but even concealed from discovery. They are not less essential because they are *secret services*; and in my conscience, I believe they are of such a nature, that Mr. *Pitt* would be found totally incapable of reaching in so superlative a degree. I cannot persuade myself, that Mr. *Pitt* could have done such real services to the duke of Bedford, when his grace, in so amiable and endearing a manner, administered the government of Ireland, as Mr. *Rigby* actually and frequently did—by his mild and moderate counsels. I am likewise of opinion, that in his late tour to France, on that arduous business of the negotiations for peace,

† See *London Gazette* of October 10, 1761.

his *grace* had particular obligations to Mr. *Rigby*—in private hints, and perhaps even amendments of the *preliminaries*, which have made them appear so correct and high-finished, that they are universally admired. If I might be indulged a bold conjecture, I should be inclined to give Mr. *Rigby* the particular merit of that article, which describes countries so accurately by their lying on the *left* side of the river *Mississippi*; and I think he ought to be appointed *first* *geographer* as well as *Master of Rolls* (or should it not be *Revels*?) in *Ireland*. The merit of Mr. *Rigby* shines forth here in full lustre. We must likewise in justice ascribe to the wise and salutary advice of that gentleman all the happiness our fellow subjects of *Ireland* enjoyed under the beloved administration of his *grace of Bedford*, as well as a share of the glories of a *peace*, which has saved *England* from the certain ruin of success, and preserved to her all those conquests, which were of any value or importance. In the whole of these transactions Mr. *Pitt* had not the least share.

I will do the ministry justice in every thing. There is, I confess, a fitness and propriety in the mode of rewarding these two gentlemen, which does honour to the discernment of the administration. Of the plenteous crop of la-
rel

rels, which Mr. *Pitt* has gathered, the fairest, and the only laurels likely to be *evergreen*, have come from *America*. The revenues, therefore, of the new world have been taxed to pay a little tribute to its conqueror. The scene of Mr. *Rigby*'s glory is *Ireland*. The modest *Irish bay* encircles his modest brow, and her sweet *harp* ever resounds with his praises. Her sons, therefore, with the strictest propriety, as well as wonderful cheerfulness, now pay the 4,600*l.* a year, to support the dignity of this *English* patriot, their late adored governor; for TRINCULO well says, *You shall be vice-roy, but I will be vice-roy over you.*

In another instance where Mr. *Pitt* has never concurred, Mr. *Rigby* has steadily served his country. We all know that Mr. *Fox* has ever been the darling of the people, as well as the particular favourite of the *Cocoa-tree*. Some malevolent writers have, indeed, some years ago, compared him to CATILINE, (for I must correct the spelling of the ignorant AUDITOR, who always writes CATALINE.) I suppose only from the circumstances of CATILINE's having been the *Paymaster* of all the seditious and propagate in ROME; but the body of the people have always had the utmost trust and confidence in him. This virtuous minister, who, so fully opening his—heart, has now opened the

the eyes of the parliament, though not of the public, Mr. *Rigby* has supported : Mr. *Pitt*, firmly opposed, and never concurred in any of his *great* and *glorious* schemes for his country.

The comparison of Mr. *PITT* with Mr.
RIGBY.

Among many things, which claim our admiration in both these men, one of the chief is, that from inconsiderable helps they attained to such greatness. In this respect Mr. *Pitt* has the advantage ; for he has no partner, none to share his glory ; whereas Mr. *Rigby* has been joined with many others, and has always acted rather in an inferior and subordinate sphere. Mr. *Pitt*, almost alone in his age, seems to have possessed that great political virtue, the art of governing kingdoms to their own satisfaction, which the ancients laid down as the greatest perfection which the nature of man could acquire.

In comparing their lives, we may observe that this was common to them both ; they were not born to any share of the legislature of their own country, but both raised themselves to be considerable among their fellow citizens, and to have voices in the senate. This was, indeed, effected by different methods.

thods. Mr. *Pitt* obtained his seat in parliament by the unanimous suffrages of a few gentlemen of virtue and discernment. Mr. *Rigby* has put himself upon his country more at large, and has generally canvassed the dregs of the people in the same manner *Cæsar* did for the post of *Pontifex Maximus*, and with them has found the same success. This is peculiar to Mr. *Pitt*, that the palm of virtue and ability was readily yielded to him by every man of every party; whereas any great superiority of virtue or talents has been disputed by many with Mr. *Rigby*. Every prudent, every modest, every decent part, has been denied to be his praise; and I have, indeed, never heard that he has made any serious claim to either. In this, the difference is glaring. PLUTARCH says, *QUINTUS SERTORIUS* was already in high esteem for his former services in the war, and his great abilities in the senate-house; whereas *EUMENES* obtained what he had, when he had been only a SECRETARY, and had been despised for the meanness of his employment.

As to eloquence, they are both confessedly great; and I scarcely know how to compare them. If the eloquence of Mr. *Pitt* has been compared to the bold thunder, that of Mr. *Rigby* is undoubtedly the brisk lightening. Mr. *Pitt* never fails to persuade, to awaken, to rouse

rouze the passions, and to gain them over to the side of truth and virtue. Mr. *Rigby* as freedom has failed to enliven, to entertain, to amuse, and where he has found his own language sink under the powers of his oratory, he has opened to us all the classical treasures of the great Roman, LILLY, (not Tully) and has boldly denounced the terrors of his vengeance against *omne quod exit in hausen* †.

As to their *negotiations*, Mr. *Rigby* is to be preferred. Mr. *Pitt* has been concerned only in one negotiation with the perfidious *Gaul*, whom he brought to sue for peace in our capital. Mr. *Rigby* has twice adventured to the capitals of his enemies the *French*, and of his dear friends the *Irish*, on important negotiations. Their motives were the same, and motives are the soul of actions, by which wise men have at all times measured the merits of them. Mr. *Pitt* seems to feel the most sincere benevolence and disposition to do good to the people of *England*; Mr. *Rigby*, a much better Christian, to our late enemies, the people of *France*; by which, as they are certainly more numerous than the subjects of the *British* empire, the benevolence of Mr. *Rigby* becomes more dilated, and is more universal than the

† An expression of Mr. *Rigby*'s in a great assembly.

of Mr. Pitt. In the negotiation likewise, Mr. Rigby's open, unsuspicious nature, relies on the *royal word of the French king*, that he will not fortify *St. Peter's*, &c. which all Europe knows is ample security; whereas Mr. Pitt very uncourteously insists (and this only one of four *indispensible* conditions) on the residence of a *Commissary*, among people who do not wish for his company, and on the *visits* of the commander of the British Squadron at Newfoundland, which must be unwelcome to every single *Frenchman* there. As to Mr. Rigby's negotiations among the *Irish*, their affection to him is now by no means equivocal. The returns he makes, I think, are scarcely adequate to the exuberant kindness of such friends; for he is now endeavouring to obtain an act to enable him to take *here* the oath of office, as *Joint Vice-Treasurer of Ireland*, which will deprive them of his wish'd-for company in that Kingdom, and of the opportunity of giving him the most *solid* and *striking* proofs of their esteem and affection. This they will the more lament, because by his politely taking a *French* leave of them, they lost an opportunity (of which they were universally ambitious) of giving him indelible marks of their gratitude. As that body is, without doubt, the most strong and healthy, which can best support extreme

treme cold and excessive heat, so that is the most firm and vigorous mind, which is not elated with prosperity, nor dejected in adversity. In this respect the virtue of Mr. Pitt appears more compleat. He was for many years the admiration of all his fellow-citizens; on a sudden, the wicked arts, and false suggestions of a few malevolent and envious men, the hirelings of the mean Scot, for a short time obscured his fame, and eclipsed his glory. His conduct on both occasions was the same; modesty, calm sense, and dignity attended him. Mr. Rigby has ever been in the same esteem with mankind; therefore we have no trial of the firmness or fortitude of his mind.

Mr. Pitt seems to have the advantage of Mr. Rigby in the number and greatness of his exploits. There is a glory round Mr. Pitt from *Louisbourg, Quebec, Pondicherry, &c.* which no sane man looks for round Mr. Rigby. On the other hand, Mr. Rigby has the merit of having restored concord to a neighbouring kingdom, and of enthroning peace and himself in the heart of every true *Irishman*; Mr. Rigby too deserves a distinguished niche in the temple of domestic concord. If the conqueror's laurels be peculiarly Mr. Pitt's, the lover's myrtle is no less Mr. Rigby's.

As to their more private characters, both Mr. Pitt

Pitt and *Mr. Rigby* have generosity and spirit. In other things they differ. *Mr. Pitt* is abstemious, temperate, and regular; *Mr. Rigby* indulges more in convivial pleasures, is an excellent *bon vivant*, perfectly amiable and engaging in private life. *Mr. Pitt*, by the most manly sense, and the fine sallies of a warm and sportive imagination, can charm the whole day; and as the *Greek* said, his entertainments please even *the day after* they are given. *Mr. Rigby* has all the gibes and gambols, and flashes of merriment, which set the table in a roar; but amidst his profusion of pleasures, and even amongst his roses, fierce repentance rears her snaky crest, and *the day after* a cruel head-ach, at least, frequently succeeds. In short, I wish to spend all my days with *Mr. Pitt*; but I am afraid, that at night I should often skulk to *Mr. Rigby* and his — friends.

Numb. XXXII. Saturday, Jan. 8, 1763.

Here stood her opium, here she nurs'd her owls,
And here she plann'd th' imperial seat of fools.

POPE

TO THE COCOA-TREE.

GENTLEMEN,

IT is now so much become the fashion to address you, that common politeness seems to give you a right to a few lines from the NORTH BRITON. To you then he calls, *but with no friendly voice*. He feels neither affection, nor esteem for you. He equally detests your *principles* and your *practices*. He has marked you for many years, factious, seditious and very near *rebellious*. For *four* years only under the *patriot minister*, whom you have now deserted, he was witness to your acting on *revolution principles*; but how little you were in earnest, and how faintly your heart glowed even then with the generous warmth of liberty, your present conduct bears full evidence. I shall not now attempt your history as a party. That is too large a field for

week

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weekly paper: *longa est historia, longæ ambages*.
 a few of the *outlines* I will mark, and if they
 be faithful, and drawn after truth, they will be
 more *bold* than *regular*. I shall confine myself
 almost entirely to some circumstances, I be-
 lieve of importance, which are still unnoticed
 by abler pens; and I will point out a few,
 though not of your *amiable*, yet of your *leading*
features.

The infinite number of writings you for-
 merly published to recommend *passive obedience*,
non-resistance, and *indefeasible right*, were a dis-
 grace to the free government under which you
 lived; and your slavish maxims led a former
 happy prince, *James the Second*, to attempt
 reducing into practice what you had for
 many years inculcated through the nation as
 the clear right of the *Crown*. You have now
 rather softened the terms, and you only talk
 of the *independency* and *prerogative* of the *crown*;
 but your meaning clearly remains the same.
 These were the universal doctrines, and cha-
 racteristics of a *Tory*. All your friends at your
 headquarters in the capital loudly proclaimed
 these tenets of slavery, and your favourite
 country residence of *Oxford* echoed them thro'
 the nation. They were *talked*, *written*, and
taught into vogue by venal, prostitute priests.
 The judgment and decree of the *University of*
Oxford, passed in the Convocation, July 21, 1683.

is full of maxims which overturn the first principles of all free governments, and of all civil liberty. That *there is a mutual contract, tacit or express, between a prince and his subjects*. That *the sovereignty of England is in the three estates, viz. king, lords, and commons*: That *the preservation is the fundamental law of nature*. That *there lies no obligation upon Christians to passive obedience, when the prince commands anything against the laws of our country, &c. &c.* These are only a few of the many propositions, which the University of Oxford declared to be *false, seditious, and impious*, as Rapin says, *the DECREE was presented to the King with great solemnity, and was very graciously received*. I appeal to the common sense of mankind, whether the English government is not entirely overturned by these maxims, which only the professed slaves of the *Turkish emperor* could surely without blush offer to the Grand Signior. BOLINGBROKE says, *that they are as absurd in their natures as terrible in their consequences, and would shock the common sense of a SAMOJEDE, or an HOTTENTOT*. The University ordered, that *IN PERPETUAL MEMORY, these their decrees shall be entered in the registry of the convocation, &c.* The House of Lords, in 1710, ordered this *decree* to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman; but

desire to be informed whether it does not now remain at *Oxford* UNREPEALED *.

Many, however, of the considerable *Tories* concurred in the *revolution* which was brought about, *against their principles*; but they all soon repented of it, and were never hearty friends to king *William*, though many of them were favoured by him. They continued generally in very ill humour with the government till the latter end of *queen Anne's* reign, when their machinations against the house of *Hanover* were manifest to all Europe; and they actually betrayed to *France* almost all the members of the grand alliance. Their particular spleen to the *Dutch*, to whom this nation was so greatly indebted for the *revolution*, is remarkable. The following orders were sent to lord PRIVY SEAL, who was then the great tool of that faction, for his farther conduct: "You are to stop all instances for procuring the Tarif of 1664 to the *DUTCH*; you are to decline absolutely to confer any farther with them upon any matter—and the queen looks upon herself, from their conduct, now to be under no obligation whatever to them."

It is expected that this infamous *Decree* will be soon repealed, at the particular request of their present Chancellor, as indubitable proof of his sincere conversion to the principles of *Liberty* and the *Revolution*.

Report from the Committee of Secrecy, the 9th of June, 1715, p. 12, and afterwards, p. 30. *Mr. St. John writes a long letter to the lord PRIVY SEAL, and instructs him to lay the entire blame of all that has happened to the Dutch.*

The peace of Utrecht, gentlemen, was infamously patched up by your party, and therefore you are to be detested for having laid the foundation of all the future troubles of Europe. I must, however, own, that on the 24th of April, 1714, both Houses of Parliament presented an address to the Queen, to express the just sense which they had of her Majesty's goodness to her people, in delivering them a safe, honourable, and advantageous peace with France and Spain, &c. In the House of Commons this resolution passed *nemine contradicente*, the friends of liberty having at that time agreed to avoid unmeaning divisions, and reserve themselves for a more favourable exertion of their spirit. Your pens now flourish in PREROGATIVE just as they did at that time. The message to the House of Commons on the 8th of May, 1713, begins, *As it is the undoubted PREROGATIVE of the crown to make peace and war, &c.* The last address, presented on the 13th of December, 1762, contains these words, *Although to make peace and*

be your Majesty's just and undoubted PREROGATIVE, &c. In little more than a twelve-month another House of Commons, *nemine contradicente*, impeached lord Oxford, and lord Bolingbroke, of high treason, for some of the articles of this very treaty. One of the articles of impeachment, against the Earl of Oxford, was, that he had treacherously advised the 9th article of the treaty of commerce with France, and the giving to the French the liberty of fishing and drying fish on NEWFOUNDLAND. All Europe laughed at the first resolution, and detested the vile flattery and venality of that parliament. The Queen, in her answer, said, *I esteem this address as the united voice of my affectionate and loyal subjects*. Notwithstanding this, the Lords, in their very first address to King George I. say, *they hope to recover the reputation of this kingdom in foreign parts, the loss of which by no means to be imputed to the nation in general*. The Commons declared, *We are sensibly touched, not only with the disappointment, but with the reproach brought upon the nation by the unjustifiable conclusion of a war, which was carried on at so vast an expence, and was attended with such unparalleled successes: but as that honour cannot in justice be imputed to the whole nation; so we firmly hope and believe that, through your Majesty's great wisdom, and the faithful en-*

deavours of your Commons, the reputation of these your kingdoms will, in due time, be vindicated and restored.

What passed, gentlemen, among your friends at *Oxford* in the beginning of the reign of his Majesty's great-grand-father, and how opportunely *Major-General Pepper* arrived there, with a considerable body of horse, to your utter confusion, and the ruin of all your rebellious designs, is fresh in our memories. *Oxford* was then known to be the strong hold of *Jacobitism*; but I believe, even then, in fear, or modesty, you only called yourselves *Tories*. After the Duke of *Ormond* was attainted by act of parliament, the superior numbers of your friends in the University, by a great majority, elected his brother the Earl of *Arran* their Chancellor, to testify, as the Vice-Chancellor publicly declared, *their obligations to the family of BUTLER, and to express their gratitude to his GRACE*—for the many services to the Pretender. To the Earl of *Arran*, Lord *Westmoreland* succeeded, by the strongest of all recommendations to the University; for he was said to be the man in the kingdom most personally obnoxious to our late Sovereign. The Earl of *Westmoreland* was succeeded by Lord *LITCHFIELD*; and your party, gentlemen, grew so greatly in favour, that *OXFORD* now

gave

* Sir

† Th

gave us *chancellors* for *courtiers*, and of her *doctors* we made *chancellors*; for that remarkable year teemed with the dire omen (which heaven avert!) of the same *doctor** made *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, and *comptroller of the high Borlace Club*. He at once administered the finances of this kingdom to the purposes of a German war in its full extent, and artfully guided the nice, constitutional toasts of that virtuous, patriot club. Your favours, and those of government, which he had merited by a long succession of services, were showered down for the first time on the same great object, who had, in some degree, (*credite poster!*) the confidence of both. I must observe, that the poor old interest expired a little before this time, deserted at least, perhaps betrayed, by those she had most confided in. She had, indeed, but a little before seen her present *Oxford* chancellor subscribe a parchment full of wonderful promises to support her; but she had likewise seen his orders to erase his name from it, with an express and very true declaration, that he would not abide by what he had signed †. I am not surprised, gentlemen, at your present virulence against that great person, whom,

* Sir Francis Dashwood, Bart.

† This curious parchment is still in being.

next to King *William*, every *Englishman* reveres as his deliverer; and, I appeal to daily observation, almost every *Scotsman* detests and reviles. Ever since the battle of *Culloden*, to which his Majesty owes his crown, he has been the marked object of your abuse. How much of the admired invective of the celebrated *Radcliffe's* harangue was pointed by your favourite orator of sedition, the factious, pestilent, vain & old man, against our great deliverer? Has your present § leader caught of you the foul stain of ingratitude to our great friend; and, falling on so rank a foil, has he improved it by treachery to a noble and generous benefactor? How near did your orator approach to the very verge of treason, to gain your applause? I well remember your apprehensions at the frequent repetitions of the word *REDEAT*, and your loud applauses, when you found that though the guilt of treason was clearly incurred, yet the orator had contrived to save himself from the penalty of the law. How were you charmed with *Carmina tum melius, cum venerit ipse, canemus*, and many other expressions totally void of all meaning and wit, but what must arise from their being treason to the constitution of your country? The standard of disaf-

‡ Dr. King.

§ Mr. Fox.

fection

fection was then set up at *Oxford*, and your midnight orgies were such as every true lover of his country heard of with horror. What your wishes were in the time of the last rebellion, is now universally known; and your intrigues with the court of *France* have been fully unravelled. DEYMAN, who died in *Paris* soon after the battle of *Culloden*, the pensioner and agent of the *French* king, was for ever with you at the *Cocoa-Tree*; nor will you dare to deny that your negociation with the court of *France* became fruitless from this single point, that you insisted on the *French* first landing here, the court of *France* insisted on your first rising in arms, which only your poltroonery kept you from. Had your courage equalled your disposition to rebellion, you had joined your new allies the *Scots* at *Derby*, and the *English* had delivered this free country from a few more of her base and unnatural sons.

Forgive me, gentlemen, when I recal your attention to the general election in 1754. You then supported Lord *Wenman* and Sir *Jam. Dashwood*. Did either of them associate at the time of the most imminent danger to the state, when the *Pretender* was at the head of a considerable body of rebels in the heart of the kingdom? In the reams of paper you printed in advertisements, did you ever once name

name his majesty king *George*, or the house of *Hanover*? Did not this give the nation the strongest suspicions of your loyalty and affection to his majesty's family? I blush, when I add, that in the reign of his grandson you are caressed and trusted.

Yet, gentlemen, I will be far from blending you all in one common mass, as tinged with *Jacobitism*; I could name some among you, who, though generally actuated by caprice, yet I know have had, in their few cool moments of reflection, an aversion to all *monarchical government*, and have held in perpetual derision the *respect and veneration* due to kings. All their ill-bred and indecent jokes on *kissing hands*, &c. are well remembered. His majesty's father said to the two * most remarkable, when they professed much devotion to his service, *I know you both well; you would indeed make me the greatest STADTHOLDER England ever had.* Yet, notwithstanding all their parade of *stubborn* † *virtue*, we have seen these

* Earl T——t, and Sir F—— D———d, Bart.

† So *Talbot's* want of place is want of sense,
And *Dashwood's* stubborn virtue downright insolence.

Paul Whitehead's epistle to Dr. Thompson

We have seen how *stubborn* the *virtue* of Sir Francis *Dashwood* was, particularly in the *Excise*; but it was scarcely as real as Lord *Talbot's* want of a place.

two men ready to go into all the most odious measures, to *run all lengths*, and to become very *practicable*, or rather very *pliable*; for *practicability* implies a dexterity in business, which we have never yet seen in either of them. It is the observation of *Swift*, "Employments in a state are a reward for those who entirely agree with it. For example, a man, who, upon all occasions, declared his opinion of a commonwealth to be preferable to a monarchy, would not be a fit man to have employments; let him enjoy his opinion, but not be in a condition of reducing it to practice."

I shall now, gentlemen, only make one farther remark, that while you have been regularly preaching *submission*, and practising *opposition* to the crown, the impartial world will conclude that you believe the crown has not hitherto been placed where you may think it ought, and therefore you waited till then to practice your old doctrine of *non-resistance*; a doctrine you have ever forgot to the *Hanover* family. For my part, I have ever been persuaded that the happiness of this government depends on the security of his majesty's undoubted title, founded on those principles, which established the glorious *revolution*, and

92 THE NORTH BRITON. No. 33.

I hope will ever warm the breast of every
Englishman.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your most humble servant,

The NORTH BRITON.

Numb. XXXIII. Saturday, Jan. 15, 1763

Naturam expellas furca licet, usque recurret.

HOR.

For nature, driven out with proud disdain,

All-powerful goddess, will return again,

FRANCIS

I Cannot sufficiently admire the modesty of those writers who congratulate the public on a total abolition of party, and the universal satisfaction and harmony which prevail throughout the nation; at a time when every honest face is clouded with distrust, and every honest heart full of grief; when the old and tried friends of the constitution are retired in discontent, or rudely thrust from their seats through the influence of the old avowed ene

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mies of the present family on the throne, headed by a minister, whose country, before he was in power, and whose behaviour since, has rendered him justly suspected, and generally odious. However great the advantages of union amongst ourselves may really be, and however they may be magnified beyond their true extent, by the venal instruments of power, I should think them much too dearly purchased, if they could be purchased that way, by throwing all places of trust, honour, and profit into the hands of the *Tories*, whom no true lover of his country can behold without suspicion in any place of trust at all.

If we look some years back, we shall find that party was wholly sustained by the great abilities of some few among them, who made it subservient to their private piques or interests, and had ingenuity enough to puzzle the cause with dexterity, and confound those whom they could not convince. At present, happily for this nation, there is not one able man amongst them; their heads are as bad as their hearts: those who have taken up their pen in their behalf have made a bad cause worse, by the manner in which they have handled it, and notwithstanding the various palliations and unmeaning distinctions they have made use of, their principles are laid open to the nation.

nation, and in every honest man's mouth is to be found that antient, and I will venture to say, for I will, in the course of this paper, undertake to prove it, true assertion—*Shew me a TORY, and I will shew you a JACOBITE.*

As this assertion may, perhaps, seem too general and severe to many moderate persons, and as the abettors of that reviving party, will no doubt tell us, that these words have by no means the same import; that they differ as much in latitude of signification as in their original; that they are entirely employed on different objects; that the name of *Tory* subsisted long before that of *Jacobite* was known, which was afterwards grafted upon it merely from an *unfortunate accident*, as they call it, or as we would term it by a *special providence*; as they will insist that the name of *Tory* cannot include that of *Jacobite*, at any rate, though they will indeed candidly allow, that the name of *Jacobite* includes that of *Tory*; as all these pretences carry with them some shew of reason, I shall now give this point a more particular discussion. I shall consider the real import of these words, and shall, I trust, before I have done, convince the impartial reader that he may with the greatest propriety pronounce them *synonymous*.

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A *Tory* in the true and original meaning of the word, not to gloss it over with vain and artificial interpretations, was a maintainer of the infernal doctrine of arbitrary power and indefeasible right on the part of the sovereign, and of passive obedience and non-resistance on the part of the subject; a doctrine which many preceding monarchs had endeavoured to establish by cunning, but which the STUARTS first openly avowed, and would have confirmed by force. The *Tory* maintained, that the king held his crown of none but God; that he could not, by the most flagrant violation of the laws, by the most tyrannical exercise of his power, forfeit his right; that the people were made entirely for him, and that he had a right to dispose of their fortunes, lives and liberties, not in defiance of his coronation oath, and the eternal laws of reason, without the subject having any right to demand redress of their grievances, or, if their demand was denied, to seek redress in themselves. Does not the *Jacobite* hold these very tenets? Are not his articles of faith of the same complexion? Where is the one different from the other, unless in reader's eye? Will the *Tories* tell us, that what they maintain relates only to the system of government, to which the *Jacobite* adds a particular consideration of an attachment to the interests

terests of the *Stuart* family, whereas they are zealous for the present family? They may have impudence enough to tell us this; but, I trust, we are not yet arrived at that pitch of credulity to believe them. Examine them by their leading principles laid down above, and tell me, if according to them they must not, like the *Jacobite*, consider the expulsion of *James* the Second as unjust, the *Revolution* as a rebellion, and all those patriots who were concerned in accomplishing it, as traitors to their lawful prince; whether they must not, to act consistently with themselves, believe the title of the *Stuarts* to remain still in full force, though they are deprived of the possession, and that his present majesty holds the crown contrary to the laws of God. Can we see these persons preferred without uneasiness? Can we weigh their principles, and not suspect their actions? However moderate and averse to party, can we see them entrusted with the power of doing mischief, and for a moment doubt their having inclination to carry it into execution? Can we without concern behold the danger of the constitution, and must we not tremble with apprehensions both for our sovereign and ourselves?

The *Tories* themselves will not, for indeed they cannot, deny that these were the distinguished

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guifhing marks and governing maxims of those who formerly embraced that party, and some of them may be candid enough to own that they themselves have been actuated by the same principles ; but with regard to their present vindication, they scorn to intimate (for it is rather an intimation than a declaration) that their opinions of government are entirely altered ; that they have seen their mistake, and, in order to make amends for past errors, are now become willing to take all places and preferments, to prove their regard to the present constitution. For my own part, I must confess myself, in this respect, an infidel, nor can I believe one tittle of this pretence ; and it might perhaps have shewn no improper caution in the minister, if he hath the interest of his master so much at heart, as he would have us think, to have had some better proofs of the sincerity of their conversion, before he had bestowed on them such lavish rewards ; and to have been well assured that they had laid aside all inclination to do ill, before he had entrusted them with the power of doing it.

With regard to those ever loyal gentlemen, I shall observe farther, either

That they have changed their principles,
or,

That they are still *Tories*, in their limited
sense of the word, or,

That they are still *Tories*, as I understand
the word, including *Jacobitism*.

In every one of these respects, let them take
which they will, they are not fit to be en-
trusted with the administration of affairs.

The first of these points is the only one which
will admit a moment's doubt. Those who de-
termine at first sight, will naturally say, that
as the principles of the *Tories* were the only ob-
jection to their being concerned in the admin-
istration, those principles being now changed,
the objection of course ceases, and they be-
come entitled to state-employments equal
with the most ancient and steady loyalists.

This inference, however specious, and found-
ed on a maxim generally true, will not, I am
afraid, hold good, when applied to this par-
ticular case. The qualifications necessary for
employments in the administration, I apprehend,
ought to be real attachment to, and zeal for,
the constitution; a strength of understanding
standing

standing which may discover the true interests of it, and an invariable steadiness of mind, in the promoting of them. In the first of these respects, we will credulously suppose that the *Tories* have qualified themselves (those I mean who had occasion to take the oaths) by a total and miraculous change of principles, effected in an instant, without any visible cause, and almost amounting to a new birth. In the second respect, which relates to the understanding, we will generously give them credit; but how then will they stand with regard to the latter qualification? If we acknowledge the sincerity of their conversion, their zeal for the constitution, joined with an amazing understanding, what must we think of their steadiness? What, without any one motive (but those arising from true reason and sound argument, which they had for years rejected) all at once, in a moment, by the strongest sympathy in the world, shift about, profess those doctrines they had exploded, and disavow those principles which they had sucked in with their milk, in which they had been educated, and which, when arrived at what they called years of discretion, they openly gloried in; those principles in defence of which many of their fathers lost their honours, and some their lives! Is such a change as this credible? Can

they really have relinquished those hellish tenets, or do they dissemble? If the change is dissembled, what is become of the first qualification of a statesman, a love of the constitution? If the change is real, what becomes of the latter qualification, that steadiness of mind which alone can make the other of good effect? Can we think our dependence well founded on those men who can so easily take up and relinquish principles, or be well pleased to see power lodged in the hands of those, of whom the most candid must declare, that they are chargeable with levity, that they are lighter than vanity itself? When they professed themselves *Tories*, they attempted to give us reasons for their Political Creed, nay, they pleaded conscience. Why do they not tell us the reasons on which they have changed their faith and assign some fair methods by which they have satisfied the doubts of conscience? Till they do this, we certainly have an undoubted right to consider their pretended change as a mere piece of finesse, calculated to advance the worst of purposes, or to regard them as men of inconstancy and levity, acting from caprice and not reason; consequently in either of these respects unfit to take a part in the direction of affairs.

To do them justice, however, I shall endeavour to account, not for their change of principles, because I believe those to continue as they were, but for the alteration in their mode of speaking and acting. This I the rather think necessary, because it seems to arise from motives which they may not be willing to avow. I mean ambition and interest, an unbounded desire of such places, as bring in real profit, and afford mock honour. We shall, however, do well to observe, that though these are strong inducements to them to dissemble their principles, they cannot be of any force to work an honest change in them. Their beautiful pliability indeed, and complaisance to those bewitching tempters, seems to prove more than they would wish, and instead of evidencing a change of principles, declares that they have no principles at all.

If then we are of opinion that they have changed their old-rooted principles merely through caprice and levity, we can have no assurance that they may not as wantonly return to them, with a fresh accession of power and influence to accomplish the subversion of our happy constitution; if they are governed by ambitious and interested views, we can only consider them as persons put up to auction, and always to be sold to the best bidder; if

they continue *Tories*, in their limited sense of the word, as it means the friends of despotic government, we immediately see how much their influence ought to be feared by the people: or, if they continue *Tories*, as I understand the word, including *Jacobitism*, how dreadful ought their new-revived power to appear, not only to the people, but also to the sovereign!

Numb. XXXIV. Saturday, Jan. 22,
1763.

— Fuit hæc sapientia quondam,
PUBLICA PRIVATIS fecernere.

HOR.

Poëtic wisdom mark'd, with happy mean,
Public and private, sacred and profane.

FRANCIS

IT is become the fashion to ask, "What have you to say against the present minister?" "What ill hath he done?" I would answer this question, and, I think, not improperly, by asking another, "What have you to say for the present minister? What good hath he done?" My notion hath ever been, that service

services should precede rewards, and that places of so high and interesting a nature, should be conferred on those only who had previously given some unquestionable proofs of integrity and ability. The tools of this very great man, and particularly the AUDITOR, think all objections to his having the direction of public affairs sufficiently answered by telling us, that he is a man of excellent character in private life.

Whether this be truth or not, I neither know nor care; but certain I am, that it is nothing at all to the present point. Private virtues are very often to be found where the qualifications of a public character are wanting. A good man may be a very bad minister; and this observation will justify us in asserting, that religion was in a great measure the cause of that prince's fall, whom we now consider as a martyr. To enter into private life on this occasion, cannot be serviceable to the cause we espouse, and is by no means agreeable to our inclination: though perhaps, without any violation of candour, we might disprove the general assertion of venal flatterers, and without any danger from the law, make them severely repent of the challenge they have so often sent us on this head. The only plausible pretence for the minister's holding

his present place, is his great œconomy at home: but even here, I am afraid, the inference which they would make is not just. We frequently meet with persons who are careful to the last degree of their own money, and lavish, beyond precedent, of what is entrusted to them by others. How far this is the case here, I shall not consider at present; one particular transaction of the greatest moment, which will throw light on these affairs, hath been lately communicated to the NORTH BRITON, and shall in due season be laid before his readers, who will not, he hopes, deem this a vague and wanton assertion, but give that credit to him, which he trusts he has merited from the public, by a faithful and close regard to truth, the great object of all his political enquiries.

One very remarkable reason, for such it is called, assigned to justify the exorbitant greatness of the present minister, is the great care which he exerted to form the mind of his most excellent majesty in his early years. As there is no true Englishman who doth not feel the good effects of our sovereign's virtues, they must all (I take it for granted, and can answer for myself) be highly sensible of the obligation due to those who in any measure contributed to the improvement of them; but I am

not

not yet sufficiently deep in the history of LEICESTER-HOUSE, to be quite certain that the Favourite hath any just claim to our acknowledgements in this respect. He had a place there, of no great consequence in itself, and, according to my poor conceptions, wholly unconnected with the business of education; nor amongst the several great names to whom, at various times, this important trust was committed, did I ever hear his lordship mentioned till he became a manager in the state. Taking the fact, however, for granted, the reward bestowed on him in consequence of it seems much out of proportion, and is of such a nature, as to take him entirely out of that province, to his excellency in which, as we are told, he owes his influence. A very good schoolmaster may make a very indifferent statesman: pedantry is of little service in politics, and I should have a very contemptible opinion of an English administration, who would submit in their several departments to the imperious dictates of an overbearing tutor. I am extremely sorry that I cannot, in this respect, agree with the great Mr. MALLET, *alias* MALLOCK, that ingenious SCOT, who, by the publication of lord BOLINGBROKE's *deistical writings*, formerly endeavoured to overthrow our religion, and at present is doing what in him

him lies to change our constitution, by advancing such doctrines as strike at the liberties of the people. In the *political poem* of ELVIRA, now acting at Drury-lane Theatre, are the following remarkable lines:

*He holds a man, who train'd a king to honour,
A second only to the prince he form'd.*

I could much wish to see the work of education more considered, and those to whom it is entrusted better rewarded than they are in general; but cannot by any means agree to this extravagant opinion, even though I could persuade myself that a *groom of the stole* must in good reason mean a *Tutor*; and that to superintend the ornaments of the body is most essentially to adorn the head and heart.

In the best political * pamphlet which has been laid before the public, relative to our present divisions, it is asserted, and I think with great reason, that the unpopularity of a minister, on whatever grounds it is taken up, is in itself a sufficient motive for him to quit the administration; nor would the ministerial hirelings have seriously contradicted this doctrine, if they had once considered, that the con-

* An Address to the Cocoa-Tree. From a Whig.

sequences of such unpopularity will be the same, whether it should arise from prejudice, or from reason. In the course of this paper, I shall venture to go one step farther, and shew, that there are many other real, fair, and substantial objections to the administration of this Scot.

The first is, that he is a *Scot*. Can he help that, say his friends? No, nor can we; I from my soul wish that we could.—But, say they—you cannot impute his country to him as a fault; it is his misfortune.—The misfortune, I am afraid, is ours. In spite of all their specious arguments, I am certain, that no man could ever believe that a *Scot* was fit to have the management of *English* affairs. There is something in the very thought which strikes disagreeably, even before we are able to account for our disgust, though on a moment's pause we find reasons enough at hand ready to justify it. A *Scot* hath no more right to preferment in *England* than a *Hanoverian* or a *Hottentot*; and though from the time that the *STUARTS*, of ever odious memory, first mounted the throne, the *Scots* have over-ran the land; yet the countenance shewn to them hath ever been attended with murmurs and discontent. From the *union*, indeed, they have no other kind of plea to make, and with much modesty

modestly represent to us their undoubted right of enjoying every thing in common with us. That the *union* was designed, however the act may be worded, to put the inhabitants of the most beggarly part of the island, into full possession of the whole, I cannot believe; and if we consult the behaviour of the *Scots* at that time, we shall find they themselves did not then consider it in that very advantageous light. A true *Scot* never opposes his own interest; and if any one of those few amongst them who favoured this *union*, had made it clear that it was for their advantage, the whole nation would unanimously have come into it. Had that spiritual argument been used to them, which had such an effect on the children of *Shechem*. “Shall not their cattle, and their substance and every beast of theirs, be ours?” they would have been no hesitation on their side. But the most sanguine amongst them could not encourage such hopes, for they had not yet sanctified themselves by repeated rebellion. The particular post now held by the minister is of all the most liable to exception, as it includes the disposal of places, considerable both for their number and quality; and his behaviour therein justifies the suspicion we had entertained, that none but *Scots* or *Jacobites*,

such *English* as are *scotticized*, must expect favour or preferment under him.

Besides the objection which lies against the minister from his being a *Scot*, from his glaring partiality to that nation, and contempt of us; from his connexions with the old enemies of our constitution, and supercilious treatment of the true friends of it; from the arbitrary displacing of men, merely because they were too honest to approve his measures, and from the doctrines of arbitrary power, which seem to be once more walking abroad under his protection, our discontent is well-grounded on the late inglorious *peace*.

The warmest defenders of the *peace*, on the present plan, seem to abate something of their zeal, and no longer assert it to be adequate to our successes: they only say, that it is necessary for us in our present situation. This doctrine hath been maintained on a public occasion, by a * gentleman of known abilities, who for some time hath exerted the happy and honourable art of speechifying so mysteriously, that no one can find out whether he is for or against the *peace* and the *administration*. Could it be made out that there was an absolute necessity for us to make *peace*, and such a *peace*,

* Charles Townsend, Esq;

I dare

I dare not to wag my tongue against those concerned in patching it up; but this point, though frequently asserted, remains yet to be proved, and the trifling pretences, which have been offered to the public, want nothing but the slightest consideration to make them contemptible.

One reason still insisted upon to shew the necessity we were under of making peace is the impossibility of the minister's raising the supplies to carry on the war. This, if true, was a good reason for the minister's quitting his post; but a very indifferent one for his sacrificing the honour of an indulgent master and the interests of a country not his own, in order to retain it. If there was any difficulty on this head, it did not arise from the thing itself, but from the person; and on his removal, and the appearance of any one in whom the people thought they might confide, it would have vanished of course. But, distrusted, suspected, and hated as he was, there is little ground for making the raising the supplies a plea for a precipitate peace, when a merchant, now of great and fashionable note, remarkable for *flimsy oratory* as dull poet, with much confidence assured his noble

‡ Richard Glover, Esq;

tron, that however steady the city might appear, they were always to be turned about by throwing in an *eighth*.

On a comparison with our enemies, we had no imaginable reason to make peace. They were totally undone; we had nothing to fear from them, and much was to be got. The time was come when our brave sailors might have reaped the rewards of their dangers, and instead of returning to rust at home in beggary and contempt, might have settled themselves in ease and comfort. FRANCE, we all know, was ruined; her fleets destroyed, her trade at a stand, her colonies in our hands. *Spain*, an enemy at the best little to be feared, had lost that fortress which alone secured to her the renew of war. This assertion is not without proof. *Pococke*, to whom the nation is bound by the most important services, declared; we had it delivered to us in a place, and by a person which makes the truth undoubted; nay, we seriously and solemnly returned thanks, *by authority*, in our churches to Almighty God, for *having deprived our enemies of the means of war*. In such a situation, what was to prevent a peace adequate to our necessities? *The minister*. What was to drive to the acceptance of such terms as are generally disagreeable? *The minister*. What could induce

induce us to restore our conquests, to put the enemy into a condition of rekindling the flames of war in a short time, and more to our disadvantage? What, but *the minister*. Above all, why allow the right of fishery? Because the *French* would not make peace without it; they held it a *sine qua non*. However fashionable it may be to undervalue that article now, *their* attention to it, if nothing else, demanded *ours*; and, if it is a *sine qua non* to the *French*, that was reason sufficient to make it so with us. But I cannot enough admire that the *French* would not make peace without it. Are the vanquished then to prescribe terms to their conquerors? What did it concern *England* whether *France* called it peace or war, if she was so destitute of force as to be unable to oppose our success and to prevent that commerce, which put the whole world into our hands, though we have generously given a considerable part of it to her again?

But how would EUROPE have considered this behaviour? Would not the jealousy of other powers have been raised; nay, would not their justice have taken the alarm, when they had seen *England*, drawn unwillingly into a war, cruelly and unnaturally defending herself, and humbling her enemies; most injuriously detaining those places which were

nourish

nourably conquered, and refusing to restore to her enemies a power of doing her fresh injuries? This I confess to be a material reason for our concluding the war in the manner we have now done, and it ought to warn us never to go to war with any power for the future, till we have first sent round the world to know what places we may keep, if conquered, and what we may not; so that we may not, as now, exhaust our treasures, and, which is more considerable, throw away the lives of our brave fellows, to take places on purpose for a weak or wicked minister to give them up again.

Numb. XXXV. Saturday, Jan. 29, 1763.

Et quocumque volent, animum AUDITORIS agunto.

HOR.

And where they please the AUDITOR they lead.

Must confess, that for some time I entertained the fond hope of availing myself, in the discussion of the *preliminary articles of peace*, the wonderful political knowledge of the Auditor. In his thirty-first number he had been an excellent set of observations, by print-

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ing

ing *Viator's* Letter, relating to *Florida*, *exactly in the form which he received it*, that he might (to use his own words) *throw all the lights in his power upon the solid value of the advantages procured for us by the late negotiation*: but after having assured us, upon that *undoubted authority*, that *Florida* is a *well-improved, richly cultivated, and populous country*, in this auspicious beginning of his career, he unhappily stopt short, and, from this incomparable specimen, has left us to regret what such *acuteness and knowledge* combined, could, but alas! will not, effect for the public. Perhaps, however, I injure him, and we are only to wait a little while till a kind correspondent sends him *another letter* to blazon in as lively and *faithful colours the solid value of the bleak and barren deserts of Canada*. He is so fair, that we have no reason to doubt but he will give the letter *exactly in the form which he receives it*; and will perhaps, again pawn his credit to the public for the authenticity and truth of every particular. I hope he will then likewise dwell on the *commercial advantages* which may be drawn from it, as they must surely be equal to the very important one of the *Florida Turf*, that fine, rich vein of trade, just opened by the AUDITOR, give, as he says, *comfortable fires* to our cold, frozen *West-Indian* islands. May I hope to

forgiven by the * *lord steward* of his majesty's
 household, who has his master's and his own
honour ever at heart, and by the first † *lord*
 of the *treasury*, whose love to this nation is
 tempered with the truest *frugality*, if I should
 propose a scheme of *economy*, which is of a
 nature perfectly new to both; for it is in no
 way derogatory from the dignity of the crown,
 or the safety of the public. I would there-
 fore humbly submit, whether the *pension* which
 the AUDITOR now enjoys should not be with-
 drawn, and instead of it an *exclusive charter* be
 granted to him for this new branch of com-
 merce, the *Florida pect*. He surely deserves it
 much more than Mr. *Touchet* does a *monopoly* of
 the trade to the river *Senegal*. That gentleman
 has just now made this modest claim, though
 he received his share of *prize-money*, and his
 usual enormous profit on almost all the goods
 sent out, when he contrived to make a
trading voyage of a warlike expedition. I do
 not know how both their claims will be re-
 ceived by the public; but, *being of such a na-*
ture, I should not wonder if they were sup-
 ported by that great patron of modest men, and
 modest merit, the modest Mr. *Fox*.
 This wonderful genius, the AUDITOR, who,

* Earl Talbot.

† Earl of Bute.

for the advancement of *political science*, has so happily emerged, though not so pure as I could wish, from his *native bog of Allen*, is too grave a politician to *sport on the turf of Florida*. According to the *simple primitive ideas*, which in the first dawn of life so deeply impressed his *soft, tender mind*, he considered wisely and soberly the real and solid benefits of this *new, but important, commerce of peet* so necessary to the *comforts of life*. To carry on *that trade*, I dare say he would be ready to bargain even for his dear *natale solum*, and would no more scruple to begin a treaty to *sell his country*, than he did to sell himself. At present, he only proposes the *Florida peet* at a *cheap rate for the lower kind of the planters* in our *West-Indian islands*, to have a comfortable fire in their *parlours or bed-chambers*, to which there can be no objection, provided he will first build *chimnies* in their *parlours or bed-chambers*.

As to the *inhabitants* of this *populous country*, it is well known, that *Florida* has been chiefly peopled by *convicts* from *New-Spain*. I hope, however, since the *Spaniards* have turned out the most shallow politicians in *Europe*, that we shall not adopt their policy; for I am really unwilling to lose the weekly entertainment of my friends, the *AUDITOR* and *BRITON*. T

both know so much already of *Florida*, there can be no necessity, though it might be the strictest justice, to send them to a country at present so well peopled with similar geniusses, that (if they are not already expected there) they would undoubtedly be well received by the new excellent subjects we have acquired, and smit with the love of the same *fine arts*, they would meet congenial, mingling knave with knave. I do not doubt but our disciple of *St. Omer's*, who is rather the greater genius, would instruct his fellow-labourer, the poor BRITON, to throw away his *Scottish* pack of dulness, and in time they would both surpass in perfidy and fraud the most refined Jesuit, who is to be *tolerated* in these new conquests—possibly to read mass to this good *Irish Catholic*. If no untimely end prevents the dullest *play-wright* of our times, he may then at last present us with a woeful Tragedy, both *new* and *interesting*, drawn not from fable and invention, but founded on his own real adventures, and *hair-breadth scapes*.

Leaving, however, to the ridicule of mankind, this egregious dupe, the ‡ AUDITOR, the most *fond, believing* fool of the age, I shall

¶ The AUDITOR soon gave up the ghost. He died very little regretted by the world in general, but the kindness of the same partial friend and correspondent reached beyond death, and inscribed his tomb with the following lines:

take a comparative view of some of the important articles of the two negotiations, in 1761 and 1762; and will, in a summary way, state what is restored to *England* and her allies, and what is yielded to *France*. As to *Spain*, I shall reserve that power for a separate consideration. The first important article, insisted upon by all the king's servants consulted in the most secret affairs of government, which has been since RECEDED FROM, is, that the French shall abstain from that particular fishery on all the coasts appertaining to Great-Britain, whether on the continent, or on the islands situated in the said Gulf of St. Lawrence, which fishery the proprietors only of the said coasts have constantly enjoyed and always exercised, saving always the privilege granted by the 13th article of the treaty of Utrecht. *Vid.* Memoire Historique, p. 52. Now let us examine the negotiation of 1762. Article the third gives the French the liberty to fish in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, on condition that it

SISTE VIATOR.

DEEP in this bog the AUDITOR lies still,
His labours finish'd, and worn out his quill;
His fires extinguish'd, and his works unread,
In peace he sleeps with the forgotten dead:
With heath and sedge, Oh! may his tomb be dress'd,
And his own turf lie light upon his breast.

Subje

subjects of France do not exercise the said fishery but at the distance of three leagues from all the coasts belonging to Great-Britain, and fifteen leagues from the coasts of the island of Cape-Breton, together with the liberty of fishing and drying on a part of the coasts of the island of Newfoundland. If the *French* are as attentive to their own interests, as we have ever found them, I will venture to affirm, that the *Scottish* minister has now made them a grant of the *whole fishery*, and consequently has endeavoured to restore their navy, and to ruin ours.

The state of the islands of *St. Peter* and *Miquelon* is as remarkable. The cession of *Miquelon*, in 1761, was absolutely refused, and the duke of *Choiseul* told Mr. *Stanley*, he would not insist on it, p. 59. Four indispensable conditions are annexed to the cession even of *St. Peter*; but by the *Scottish* treaty in 1762, *St. Peter* and *Miquelon* are ceded in full right, without any one of the four indispensable conditions. No *English* Commissary is now to be allowed to reside there; but our security is the present *French* king's royal word, for there is no kind of engagement whatever to restrain his successor. Such a cobweb tie has been the subject of ridicule to all Europe.

With regard to the indispensable object of *Dunkirk*, which the king (of England) has required,

and still requires, p. 51. the town and port of Dunkirk shall be put in the condition it ought to have been put in by the last treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. The CUNETTE was deemed of the utmost consequence to that port, and therefore the demolition was insisted upon. By the last negotiation, article the 5th of the preliminaries, the CUNETTE shall remain as it now is, provided that the English engineers, named by his Britannic majesty, and received at Dunkirk, by order of his most christian majesty, verify, that this CUNETTE is only of use for the wholesomeness of the air, and the health of the inhabitants.

As to Senegal and Goree, Mr. Stanley, on the part of the British ministry, in 1761, absolutely insisted on keeping both; for that Senegal could not be securely maintained without Goree, p. 27. and Monsieur Buffy was authorised to consent to the cession required by England so that the exportation of negroes might be confirmed by France, by some expedients equally easy and secure, p. 46. Why was it not then by the royal word of England, since that of the French king is deemed so satisfactory, with regard to their not erecting fortifications in St. Peter Miquelon, or Bengal? Goree, of the utmost consequence to the trade and security of Senegal but more important still as a security to France in the supply of negroes for the French West India

Indies, is unnecessarily and scandalously given up by the *Scottish* negociator.

As to the *East-Indies*, the negotiation carried on by the *English* minister, required that the perfect and final settlement should be made in conformity to certain rights absolutely appertaining to the *English* company, and must necessarily be left to the companies of the two nations to adjust the terms of accommodation and reconciliation, &c. Till the whole was settled, *England* was to keep possession. The *Scot* has given us, in the 10th article of the preliminaries, a most fallacious agreement for mutual restitutions of conquests, which certainly includes *Pondicherry* on our side, and nothing on the part of *France*. Every conquest she made, has been retaken, and there is nothing she has now left to restore. Is not this abusing mankind in the most barefaced and unparalleled manner? Are not these glaring marks of a formed design in the new ministry, not only to amuse, but to deceive a brave and honest nation?

As to *St. Lucia*, an object of the greatest importance, the negotiation of 1761 not only refuses it to *France*, but declares the cession by no means admissible, p. 53. and the fact is, that it never was yielded till after the duke of Newcastle was driven out of the ministry.

Our magnanimous ally, the *King of Prussia*, appears

appears to have been treated by the *English* minister with that good faith, which gives a lustre to any crown, and by the *Scot* with the most unbecoming chicanery, and the meanest, most despicable trick, and low fraud. *The answer of England to the ultimatum of France, in 1761* says, *As to what regards the RESTITUTION and evacuation of the conquests made by France over the king's allies in Germany, and particularly of Wesel and other territories of the king of Prussia his majesty persists in his demand relative to the subject, in the seventh article of the ULTIMATUM of England, viz. that they shall be RESTORED and evacuated, p. 53.* The *French* memorial of the 23d of July 1761, having proposed the keeping possession of the countries belonging to the king of *Prussia*, the answer returned by Mr. Pitt, in writing, on the 24th, and approved by all the king's ministers, was, *I likewise return you as totally inadmissible, the Memorial relative to the king of Prussia, as implying an attempt on the honour of Great-Britain, and the fidelity with which his Majesty will always fulfil his engagements with his allies, p. 36.* The *Scottish* minister has only stipulated, that *France* shall evacuate (not evacuate and restore) as far as it can be done, that is, as soon as the *Austrians* are ready to take possession of them, *fortresses of CLEVES, WESEL and GUELDRICH.*

and in general all the countries belonging to the king of Prussia. Article the 13th. In consequence of the latter part of the same article, England must evacuate and in fact restore the three bishoprics of *Munster*, *Paderborn*, and *Hildesheim*, which amount to 500,000 l. per annum. But we are told that the dominions of our great protestant ally are to be scrambled for; for in an august assembly, that was the low, vulgar, and tricking phrase of the *Scottish* minister. This is a new kind of ministerial language, exactly conformable to the baseness and artifice of a mind capable of planning so despicable a fraud, whose pretended wisdom is nothing but that consummate hypocrisy and mean cunning, which men of real worth, sense, or honour despise, and will ever consider as an alloy, which may, indeed, make the fine ore no farther, but debaseth its worth and purity.

The *Prussian* ministers have most justly entered a formal protest against the contents of the treaty, no less shuffling with regard to our great ally, than injurious with regard to us. In short, all our stipulations with *France* are to remain, and the countries belonging to the elector of *Hanover*, to the landgrave of *Hesse*, to the duke of *Brunswic*, and to the count of *La Roche-Buckebourg*, are to be restored by the 12th article. Is the same care taken of *Prussia*?

I shall

I shall now only farther observe, that the negotiation of 1761 was carried on while the *Czarina* was alive, the affairs of the king of *Prussia* almost desperate, *Hesse*, &c. in the hands of the enemy, before the conquest of *Martinico*, the *Havannah*, &c. together with the capture of so many capital ships of war belonging to *Spain*. The decided superiority of *England* and her allies, in 1762, was such a might have commanded any terms; and therefore the whole exclusive fishery ought to have been insisted upon, according to what was earnestly contended for by lord TEMPLE and Mr PITT, even in 1761. The sense of the nation is clear and strong against the present terms of peace. Very few addresses have been presented although most of the Lords Lieutenants have had begging letters, entreating them to use their utmost influence. The *City of London* refused to address notwithstanding the private assurances of 14,000 *l.* to complete the bridge, with this condition tacked to it. This will be recorded, to their immortal honour, when the descendants even of the *clothiers* and *manufacturers of Gloucestershire** shall blush at the stupidity, the high flown nonsense, and servile flattery of their ancestors. That in so pro

* See the Gloucestershire Address.

sperous a state of our own affairs, and so promising to our allies, the most ignominious *peace* was patched up, is now in *us* a matter of just indignation, and *public spirited opposition* to the *minister*; and, I will venture to say, that our *posterity*, from a true sense of their own sufferings, and of the author of them, will execrate his memory.

Numb. XXXVI. Saturday, Feb. 5, 1763.

Præsertim, cùm sit hoc generi hominum prope naturâ datum, uti qua in familiâ laus aliqua fortè floruerit, hanc ferè, qui sunt ejus stirpis, quòd sermone hominum ad memoriam patrum virtus celebretur, cupidissimè persequantur.

Cic. pro Rabir. 9.

specially, as the disposition of this sort of people is almost naturally such, that in whatever family anything praise-worthy has happened to flourish, that family, those who are of this cast, because the virtue of its ancestors is perpetually in people's mouths, they most eagerly persecute.

TO THE NORTH BRITON.

S I R,

ALTHOUGH I never could be reconciled to the most absurd doctrine propagated with so much zeal by the *Tories*, that there

there is a *divine, hereditary, indefeasible* right in any family; yet I have remarked many *hereditary* virtues and vices, which seem to have been transmitted, with the family honours, by the father to the son, in a regular succession from age to age. The younger *Brutus*, who delivered *Rome* from the tyranny of *Cæsar*, was descended from the patriot stem of *Lucius Junius Brutus*, who expelled the *Tarquins*. His countrymen were continually making a kind of family claim on him to stand forth their deliverer, and to emulate the glories of his god-like ancestor. The whole race of the *Nassaus* has been renowned for a love of liberty and their country, for superior gifts of understanding, and for the most manly courage. Pride and bigotry have marked the imperial house of *Austria*, equally with the coarse big lip. I believe there is not one instance where this observation has failed in the male line; and in our time we have seen it hold good in the most *ungrateful* female descendant of a family which has waged eternal war against the protestant religion, although they were sworn to tolerate it, and against the liberties and independency of the *Germanic body*, which they were under the strictest oaths to defend.

A sacred regard to the religious and civil rights of mankind, spirit, humanity and

our, have characterised the whole *Brunswic*
 ine. Their competitors, the house of *STU-*
 ART, have been ever stigmatised as tyrants and
 towards. The country, which gave them
 birth, has always regarded them in the true
 light; and the history of *Scotland* shews how
 little that nation is disposed to submit to any
 oppressions at home, though they have so often
 endeavoured to establish their own tyrants of
 this accursed stem, on the throne of *Eng-*
 land. It is *Bayle's* remark, after *Rivet* and
David Blondell, that of 105 kings, who reigned
 in *Scotland*, before *Mary Stuart*, there had been
 three deposed, five expelled, and thirty-two mur-
 dered.

The first prince of the house of *Brunswic*,
 who swayed the sceptre of *Alfred*, gave in many
 campaigns the most distinguished proofs of per-
 sonal courage, and true heroism. His great
 successor at the battle of *Oudenard* put to flight
 the princes of the blood royal of *France*, and
 the Pretender. In the next generation the *Scots*
 contrived to give the world a fresh and striking
 proof of the superiority which the house of
Brunswic has, and will ever, *I hope*, maintain
 over that of *Stuart*. At *Culloden* their sons
 fought, but fought not; for the dastardly *Stuart*,
 at the beginning of the engagement, deserted
 his faithful *Scots*, and fled before the *English*
 hero

hero, to whom his illustrious house, and grateful country owe whatever they hold most dear. The *rebel* was chased from hill to hill, and skulked as an out-law in the kingdom he impudently laid claim to, confiding not so much in the natural strength of the country, as in the hearts of the natives, till at last he made his escape to the old friends and allies of his nation and family, the *French*.

Other families likewise of noble, though not royal, descent, have in a glorious manner followed the great examples set by their ancestors. The Earl of *Devonshire* publicly avowed the inviting over the prince of *Orange* to rescue these kingdoms from the arbitrary designs of *Stuart*. At the end of the reign of queen *Anne* that nobleman, and the great *Somers*, were offered up as victims to liberty, by the faction of the *Tories*. Even then, he dared to move the house of Lords for leave to bring in a bill to settle the *precedence of the most illustrious house of Hanover in Great Britain*. His great descendant, one of the most amiable and unspotted characters of this age, a true friend of liberty and the constitution of his country, we have seen rudely thrust out; and Sir *John Philipps* who never possessed one spark of the ancient *British* fire, but by an infernal zeal was engaged in the time of the late rebellion to

deav

deavour to procure the glorious *association* to be presented to the King's-Bench, as an illegal levying of money on the subject without an act of parliament, has been brought into his majesty's councils. Is it that he may meet there another great *constitutional lawyer*, who, in all his pleadings before the battle of *Culloden*, called his countrymen only the *Scottish army*, though *ever since* that decisive victory he has termed them what we did *before*, *Scottish rebels*? Had the *association* been deemed illegal, and the rebellion succeeded, Sir *John's* merit with the successor had been clear, and a long life of opposition to every measure of government in the *Brunswic* line, had given him a just title to favour from a true *Stuart*. His principles of justice and legality, with his wonderful gravity, might perhaps have made him *pre-* sident of some *high commission court* in Wales, and with the aid of other baronets of that country, a *Hanoverian* would soon have been as rare among them, as a true Whig ever was. Perhaps, however, I mistake, and the merit of Sir *John Philipps* with the *Scottish* minister may be, not so much the having opposed the *asso-* ciation, nor the kind law advice he gave *gratis* in 1746 to so many of the rebels, as the recommending his bar-gown to plead for another *Scot*, the honourable *Alexander Murray, Esq;* when

he was committed to Newgate, by the House of Commons, *for a high and most dangerous contempt of the authority and privilege of the house*, of which the *spirited* Sir John Philipps before that time used to give himself out as the undaunted protector.

It is to be regretted, and I make the remark with the deepest concern, that some of the considerable men of this age have not before them that great incitement to virtuous actions, the example of their ancestors. I shall confine myself to one glaring case, because it cannot be disputed. The memory of Sir Stephen Fox is not, I believe, so precious to his family, as to have excited any one of his descendants to any one virtuous action. In the debates of the House of Commons, collected by the honorable Anchtel Grey, is an account of Sir Stephen Fox's infamous bribery of the parliament preceding that in 1679, when the enquiry was made, and the charge brought home to several of the members. *The house being informed several sums of money paid to some of the members of the last parliament, by Sir Stephen Fox, &c.* Vol. 7. p. 316. Sir Stephen at first fenced with them. He alledged, that as he was no Exchequer Officer, there were no *footsteps* of *payments*, and he gave many *cunning insinuations*. p. 316. However, in the course of his examination

mination, he confessed, *I have paid much money for SECRET SERVICE; but for these FOUR YEARS I HAVE PAID NONE. I have paid it as the king's bounty, and under such other titles, but not as members of parliament*, p. 316. THIS WAS NOT AN EMPLOYMENT I DESIRED. I NEVER SPOKE, nor was adviser; but I was directly to issue out money, as I was ordered, p. 318. This confession was not obtained till he had no dependence more upon that unfortunate person now under the obloquy of the nation, p. 317. Mr. Boscawen, one of the members, very justly observed, of this place, meaning the House of Commons, *has been corrupted, it is God's great mercy that such a House had not delivered up the nation to arbitrary government.*

I must, from that caution and circumspection, which I trust the wary NORTH BRITON will ever preserve, and from the hope of preventing malicious applications, declare that all these quotations solely respect the parliament immediately preceding that of 1679, and have no respect to any subsequent parliament whatever. As to the present Mr. Fox, I should think it almost criminal to suspect him only because his father was so deeply concerned in such a scene of villainy; and surely, Tully discovered his own malignity, rather than his knowledge of human nature, when he observed,

ed, *hæc ille natus, quamvis patrem suum nunquam viderat, tamen et naturâ ipsâ duce, quæ plurimum valet, in PATERNÆ CULPÆ SIMILITUDINEM deductus est.* It must be admitted that this very Sir Stephen Fox DROVE that mild Scottish prime minister, duke Lauderdale, and almost overturned the machine of government; but surely this can never be set up as an hereditary right in Mr. Fox to drive the present gentleman of the North in the way he now does.

I own I cannot entertain any conception of Mr. Fox's being quite so profligate as the ingenious Mr. Horace Walpole represents him, (and in print too) in a *World* extraordinary, addressed to his wife, the right honourable lady Caroline Fox. Mr. Walpole observes, *his passions are very strong: he loves play, women more than all.*—Is this panegyric? I hope Mr. Walpole meant by the *one woman* lady Caroline; but surely, this is a most wonderful compliment to be addressed to a gentleman's wife, that her husband loves play and women. His other *passions* we are left to guess. Mr. Walpole proceeds to tell us, *I say nothing of his integrity, because I knew nothing of it, nor I neither.* I cannot, however, go on as Mr. Walpole does, that it has never been breathed on even by suspicion; because Mr. Walpole and I know the contrary. He likewise vouches

us that Mr. Fox is as bravely sincere as those who take, or would have brutality taken for honesty. I do not quite understand Mr. Walpole, and much question if he understood himself. I have no idea of Mr. Fox's being bravely sincere; but I really believe him sincerely brave. Mr. Walpole is happier in the description of Mr. Fox's person. He says, *His bended brow at first lets one into the vast humanity of his temper.* Another painter might, from a slight, transient view of so gloomy, fullen, and lowering a brow, which seems overhung with conceit and superciliousness, have guessed at the dark, crafty inhabitant within, and have perceived, from a most unfortunate scowl, that much deceit and treachery lurked in a black, malignant heart: but Mr. Walpole tells us, that he has succeeded in drawing the picture, and that his talent is not flattery. I beg, *en passant*, to know what this gentleman's talent is? Mr. Fox, according to Mr. Walpole's account, makes his worth open upon you, by persuading you that he discovers some in you; so that Mr. Fox's worth actually consists only in what is truly the worth of others. How much, Mr. Walpole, is he really worth? Very unhappy do I feel myself thus to disagree with so great a judge of men and things, Mr. Horace Walpole. I once before ventured

modestly to hint my doubts of the justice of his opinion, that the *Scottish* nation was endowed with a superior partition of sense to the English. Mr. Walpole in vain will endeavour to prove it from all the *unkingly writings* of James the First; but as twenty-six *Preliminary Articles of Peace*, signed at *Fontainebleau*, in November last, of true *Scottish* manufacture, have since appeared by authority, I now give up that point.

With respect to the present trifling dispute about Mr. Fox, I submit that to the gentlemen of the *Cocoa-Tree*; because they have been wonderfully enlightened of late as to his great political merit. Mr. Fox has very dexterously cajoled them, and Lord *Bute* has fed them, where the stupid, old *Tory trunk* was almost senseless and rotten, has fed their sons and nephews with loaves and fishes. In the affair of the *Mitchel* election, which was the most sensible thing they ever did as a party, for they shewed their strength as well as their venom, Mr. Fox was the constant topic of their virulent abuse, and they are undoubtedly the most foul-mouthed hounds of the whole pack. They never loved the Duke of *Newcastle*, nor can with sincere love any friend of liberty and the Protestant succession; but they then declared that they would support the Duke of *Newcastle* against Mr. Fox, because they had rather have the

pockets *picked* by his grace, than their *throats*
cut by Mr. Fox. I honour their zeal: *laudo*
manentem.

I am, &c.

Numb. XXXVII. Saturday, Feb. 12,
1763.

Repugnante CÆSARE, fed frustra adversus duos, instaurationem
Sullani exempli malum, Proscriptio.

VELL. PATER.

Against CÆSAR's will, but in vain opposed to two persons,
that baneful example of Sylla's was revived, called a Pro-
scription.

THERE is no study more entertaining or
instructive than history; nor is any hi-
story so applicable to our own government and
times as that of ancient *Rome*. We clearly see
in it the fatal rocks and shelves upon which a
great and flourishing empire was wrecked; and
by a careful attention, we may, perhaps, be
able to prevent the like danger. The expe-
rience acquired from the misfortunes of others,
Polypius says, is the safest, though the evidence
and conviction arising from our own, is the most
terrible. To enumerate the various causes of

the decline of the *Roman* empire, would far exceed the limits of my paper; it will suffice, that I point out such only as were the principal and immediate forerunners of her slavery and ruin. Where any of the same symptoms of danger shall appear in our own body politic, I will, as becomes a watchful and an honest centinel, communicate the alarm to all true *Englishmen*, and lovers of their country.

From the annals of *Rome* it appears, that her ambitious nobles, however at times checked by the integrity and wisdom of the *senate*, were still going on to pare off something from the commonwealth. It remained only to beat down that barrier against lawless rule, to bribe, intimidate, and at last to *proscribe* the most spirited, experienced, and honest friends of the public. The work of destruction was then compleated. When *Pyrrhus* attempted to corrupt the *senate*, not a single *Roman*, in those days of public virtue and national honour, would take the vile wages of prostitution. The more subtle *alien*, *Jugurtha*, found means to melt their stubborn virtue, and by the dint of *secret service* money gained over a flagitious party to espouse his shameful cause. His exclamation, when he left the mercenary capital, well known; *O venal city, devoted to immediate destruction, if thou shouldst find a purchaser!*

In our own memory, there has been a time, when the sum of *twenty-five thousand* pounds issued from a certain place, upon a *certain* article, gave too just cause for melancholy reflections. By what magic influence and fascination of mind was a former parliament induced to gild with gross and sulsome panegyric the infamous treaty of *Utrecht*, whilst the traitors, who made it, were held in utter detestation by the honest and discerning nation? I must desire, professing always a regard to decency, as well as to my own safety, that I may not be misunderstood; for there is nothing farther from my intention, than to insinuate that there is the least similitude between the circumstances of last December, and of June 1713.

In this *golden age*, metaphorically I mean, of virtue, who could dare to suppose that we have any thing to fear from that too skilful and sure pioneer, Corruption? No: if the minister was wickedly inclined to practise it, there is a person, we all know, who will never be prevailed upon to suffer it. Examine well the present administration; is it not composed chiefly of the choicest patriots, men of long experience in business, and of unshaken loyalty? Have we not at the head of our finances, the *experienced*, the *eloquent*, the *able* Sir Francis Dashwood? At the

the head of our admiralty, that great favourite of the navy, Mr. *George Grenville*? At the head of our *pensioners*, lord *Litchfield*, &c. &c. &c. They have ever declaimed loudly against *pensions*; they have represented all employments held at the pleasure of the crown, as little better than splendid badges of dependance and abject slavery. We may repose, with entire confidence, on the chaste and scrupulous integrity of the knot of *Tories*, *Scottish* members, and *Scottified English*, who now constitute, by an amazing concurrence of unexpected incidents, the present virtuous majority in parliament. These gentlemen, we must confess, had, in the worst of times, a natural *pencham* and predilection for each others merit. The famous colonel *Cecil*, of the *Cocoa-Tree*, upon his examination in the late rebellion, declared, that the ministers of *France*, which was then on the point of invading us, expressed the utmost joy at the entire union between the *English* and *Scottish Jacobites*. In these happier days of universal loyalty, how lovingly do they concur, in the support of the prerogative, and of his majesty's undoubted title to the throne of these kingdoms? Must not the *Duke of Choiseul* and the *Marquis of Grimaldi*, as they are become our exceeding good friends, be in raptures, on account of the strict harmony subsisting

sisting between the whiggified *Tories*, the torified *Whigs*, and the amphibious *North-Britons*?

The next political battery, employed against the *senate*, was that of *intimidation*. The conjunction of *Pompey*, *Cæsar*, and *Crassus*, proved much more fatal to the commonwealth, than even their opposition would have been. Under their unconstitutional administration, merit was no recommendation; nor was innocence any protection. All offices and places were given from the motives of interest or party. The wise and honest were driven from all participation of government. *Cato* was sent away for being too virtuous, by that tool of power, the profligate *Clodius*; and *Cicero*, for being too able, was forced into banishment.

This second engine of despotic power has rarely been played off in *England*, since the accession of the house of *Hanover*. A principle of conciliation and forbearance was the distinguishing characteristic of our two last kings, and of their ministers. To rule by love and not by fear, over free and willing subjects, was judged by them the wisest policy. The present mushroom minister, sprung thus suddenly from a hot-bed, disdains to walk in that old beaten track. The plan of the *Triumvirate* appears to him in every respect preferable. *Oderint, dum*

dum metuant, is *his* rule of action. The hatred of the nation *he* despises, provided *he* can operate on our fears. The most eminent lawyers have been feed, to find mistakes and flaws in patents, granted for the security of the liberties of the subject, and which for ages have been esteemed not only valid, but even sacred. *His* insolence and cruelty have put this menacing alternative, *Renounce all ties of honour, constancy, and gratitude, or else some sycophant belonging to myself shall have your place.* The secretary * of a certain board, a very apt tool of ministerial persecution, with a spirit worthy of a *Portuguese* inquisitor, is hourly looking for carrion in every office, to feed the maw of the insatiable vulture. *Imò etiam in senatum venit notat et designat unumquemque nostrum*: he marks us, and all our innocent families, for beggary and ruin. Neither the *tenderness of age*, nor the *sacredness of sex*, is spared by the cruel Scot. The *widow* of one of the most meritorious * men of this kingdom, was told her doom but our *great deliverer*, from the noblest motives of gratitude to his deceased friend, *then* interposed, and saved her from the threatened ruin. Proceedings equally violent and unpre-

† Samuel Martin, Esq.

* Stephen Pointz, Esq; formerly Governor to his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland.

cedente

cedented, and so highly dangerous in their direct tendency, cannot fail, in time, of becoming the objects of parliamentary enquiry.

If then *corruption* and *intimidation* had paved the way to arbitrary power amongst the Romans, the invention of *Proscription* by *Marius* and *Sylla*, repeated too successfully by the last Triumvirate, gave the finishing stroke to their expiring liberties. The dictator *Sylla* proscribed two thousand knights and senators, with a cruel joke, that they were all he could just then recollect, but that he reserved the punishment of others till he could remember their names. Satiated at length with vengeance, blood, and power, he gave up his usurped command; and what was indeed extraordinary, the people permitted him to die peaceably in his own bed.

The evil example of this *Proscription* was renewed by the last Triumvirate. At their first meeting the young *Octavius* resisted so inhuman a measure; but, when his pretended squeamishness was over-ruled, he outstripped them both in wanton barbarity. Historians agree that *Lepidus* was a weak, inconstant man; that he was raised, without the merit of one single virtue, to so high power, and famously abused the most glorious opportunity of serving his country, to the ruin of his country

country and himself. *Mark Anthony*, the third Triumvir, is painted to us as a composition of the most furious passions, ambitious, profligate and vindictive. His associates, were pimps, bankrupts, gladiators, and all men of the most infamous characters. The abandoned *Clodius* and the lewd *Gabinus*, were his bosom friends and dearest companions. The effects of this fatal coalition are well known. Three hundred senators, and two thousand Roman knights were doomed to die for a crime the most unpardonable to tyrants, their warm and steady support of the cause of liberty. The patriots lost their lives, and with them perished the liberties of *Rome*.

Happy *Britain!* in whose well-poised government such scenes of violence and horror are now to be apprehended. Happy in a monarch who crowns all his virtues with lenity and moderation. When the relentless hand of power shall seem to fall too heavy on the subject, we know to whom the rigour ought to be imputed. The world will place it always, as it does in this particular crisis, to the account of an headstrong and over-bearing minister; or, not to be unjust, I should make use, I verily believe, of the dual number, and lament the tyranny of the DUUMVIRATE. There are but few who may venture to assert, who do not regard

many late removals of respectable and worthy persons from their employments as a persecution, and indeed, a sort of *proscription*.

The ministers, who club their wisdom and their power in this *chef d'œuvre* of politics, appear in general to the nation in the odious light of *Cossacks*, exercising a domestic *Dragoonade*, and looking out for plunder for their creatures and dependants. Of what crime or misdemeanor has the ancient † bulwark of the house of *Hanover*, the faithful and disinterested servant of the great-grandfather and grandfather of our most gracious king, been guilty, that not alone, but all his innocent relations and well-wishers, are marked out to their indignant fellow-subjects as the most outrageous and unpardonable offenders? The public waits impatiently to learn the mighty accusation. Have not his grace, and his most noble friends, been implicated in the foul practice of rebellion? No; that perfidy has never been, nor ever will be imputed to any of *them*; or if they had, such was the extraordinary clemency of these times towards the sons of rebellion, they would undoubtedly have been forgiven. Do we not see the families of those, who were deeply concerned in the last desperate attempt to over-

† The Duke of *Newcastle*.

throw

throw our liberties and constitution, and to
 the crown upon the head of a Papist, admi-
 ted into favour, and even advanced to prefe-
 ment? What then has the noble *Duke*, with
 the victims to ministerial rage, committed
 They have ventured to declare, no matter
 how decent a manner, their humble sentiments
 that, though the work of *peace* was owned to
 a most desirable object, yet, that the preci-
 tate and blundering manner, in which it
 been conducted, was by no means worthy of
 national or parliamentary commendation.
 a conduct so moderate and defensible as this
 to differ ever hereafter with an upstart minist-
 is to be construed as a *crimen læsæ majestatis*
 the giant *Prerogative* is to be let loose,
 stalk about, to create unusual terrors, and
 strict unpractised punishments; if the fier-
 thunderbolts of Jupiter are to be launched
 a low miscreant against the slightest offence,
 even against innocence itself; if the favour-
 motto of the *North*, the *nemo me impune lac-*
 is to be adopted by a minister as the future
 of government in our once happier *South*,
 may then boast, as much as we please, of
 invaluable liberties, purchased with the blood
 of our heroic ancestors; but let us watch
 narrowly, lest, before we are aware, they shall
 soon depend upon too slight a thread. One

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olation, however, is still left us, that so severe
 an exercise of the *extreme right of prerogative*
 cannot fail of recoiling soon upon the heads
 of those impetuous and rash ministers who first
 justified it. The chariot of the sun, which
 they have borrowed, will be theirs but for a
 day. They may, for a short time, endanger
 our little world; but their own ruin will be the
 certain consequence. Their fall will be unpitied;
 their memories for ever detested.

TO THE NORTH BRITON.

I R,

"The AUDITOR made us wait from *Saturday* to *Tuesday* while he was *hatching* another
 infamous falsehood. I affirm that there ne-
 ver was any quarrel between the baronet in
 the North, and the gentleman supposed to
 be alluded to. The circumstances belong to
 another person, *very lately deceased*,* who
 gave the affront, and was afterwards cha-
 racterised by the baronet. The gentleman was
 not present at either, though he was at another
election fray afterwards, and at a few previ-
 ous, in the same year 1754. The story in the

* Coulson Stowe, Esq.

"AUDITOR is false. † The baronet himself
 "will do justice to the gentleman's character
 "in that whole transaction."

Feb. 9. 1763. I am yours, &c.

† — THE Gorgónean masque (which is the third lot) is wholly engrossed by Colonel Cataline. I know some people are of opinion, that he does not stand in need of any such assistance, and that he is sufficiently endowed by nature; but I never can think that face his own. The *Fædi oculi*, that vitiate the cast of the eye, and that entire physiognomy, can never be natural. Besides, mere human impudence would be feeble, without a Gorgónean incrustation, and shrink back from the indignant eye of mankind. After being kicked and buffeted by Baronet in the North, is it possible that he should now dare to talk of men bravely sincere and sincerely brave, while the unatoned marks of infamy are still glowing and tingling on his shoulders, if he were not wrapped in more than tenfold brass. Could a bare face endure the observant looks of that assembly, to which he resorts for no other purpose, but to mark out one of them for his scurrility on the Saturday following? But of the Colonel I shall say no more at present, being determined to devote an entire paper to so extraordinary a character.

AUDITOR, No. XXXVII

N. B. This was the last number of the Auditor.

Numb. XXXVIII. Saturday, Feb. 19,
1763.

Italiam, fato profugus, Lavinaque venit
Littora.

VIRG.

Driven by fate, a fugitive he came
To Albion's clime, and England's happy shores.

Dear COUSIN,

WE have heard with infinite satisfaction of the most promising state of our affairs, not only in our *antient* kingdom of *Scotland*, where, indeed, our interest has always been deeply rooted in the hearts of our subjects, but likewise in *England*, where, till of late, we have never been able to entertain any well-grounded hope of recovering our just claims, and regal rights. Every thing, through your benign influence, now wears the most pleasing aspect. Where you tread, the *thistle* again rises under our feet. The sons of *Scotland*, and the friends of that great line of the *Stuarts*, no longer mourn. We have had the truest pleasure in hearing of the noble provision you have made for so many of our staunch friends, and of the

considerable posts, both of honour and profit which you have bestowed on them. We no less rejoice at this than at the *proscription* you have made of our inveterate enemies, the *Whigs*, and the check you have given to that wicked *revolution spirit*, as well as to the descendants of those who have impiously opposed our *divine hereditary, indefeasible right*. With this spirit we know the title of the family in possession must fall, because it is their only firm foundation, and therefore we thank you for blighting it, and forcing out all who were in a degree thus actuated, or inspired. We thank you too for giving the power to so many of those, whose family estates were nearly ruined by a steady opposition, for almost half a century, to the house of *Brunswick*; and we rejoice to see them begin to revenge themselves on their enemies and oppressors. We hope no consideration will divert you from your purpose, on the present vacancy, of recommending our noble friend, lord *Elibank*, to be one of the *sixteen peers of Scotland*. We have small obligations to him, as well as to his brother, Mr. *Alexander Murray*, and the rest of the *WORTHY independant electors of Westminster*. Let not poor Sir *George Vandeput* starve, and Mr. *Dobyns* the upholsterer, are my

only friends of all the *subscribers* to that glorious cause, who are yet unprovided for *by you*.

We lament that our dear country for so many years has been exposed a prey to foreign invaders, and domestic traitors. We made repeated efforts to relieve it from the tyranny of the one, and to secure it from the malice of the other. Our *last* attempt *you* were no stranger to, nor to the causes which rendered abortive. The *former* you do not remember. The truth is, they were both formed on a wrong plan, and we inconsiderately undertook to bring about by foreign assistance what can only be effected by domestic union among *friends*, and by putting them in a condition to give the law to our unrelenting enemies. This you will best accomplish by creating divisions among these our refractory subjects, which you have most successfully begun. The brave courage of our people is such, that they can only be subdued by themselves, and valor is so congenial with their very being, that it remains with them, when *heaven* has forsaken them, and even permitted them to trample under foot the *rites* of our holy religion, and bid our *holy father* defiance. Our dear sister, *apostolic queen*, has justly called them, *cesars* *impies*.

We never can forget the warm wishes and

kind remembrances of our friends in the year 1745, at the *Cocoa-tree* and at *Oxford*, in a part of our old principality of *Wales*, and almost in all our ancient kingdom of *Scotland*. When that traytor, *John Murray*, a disgrace to the *name* and *family*, impeached so many of our good friends on the trial of *Duke Lovat*, the alarm in our royal breast cannot be expressed. We have read those *proceedings*, set forth by pretended *authority*, with the utmost horror. After the name of one *Welch* baronet, Sir *Watkin Williams Wynne*, our royal tenderness for another made us tremble to think what might have followed, but the noble lord *Talbot* stopped the traitor's tongue, suppressed the rest of the evidence, prudently kept other names sacred from the public ear, and would not suffer the villain to go on to *calumniate** the character of several gentlemen, who were his worthy friends †. The impartial public, however, did justice to the zeal of the noble lord's friends in our cause; and though some of them have, since that unfortunate æra, been more prudent, they have not been less in earnest; and notwithstanding a few short transitory gleams

* Vide *Lovat's Trial*.

† In *POPE* —'s reign these fruitless lines were writ,
When *Ambrose Philipps* was preferr'd for wit.

of *court sunshine*, we shall ever consider them as our own. The *steady baronet*, who, like others of his name, has been *preferred for his wit*, did indeed accept no inconsiderable place under the late usurper, and in consequence renewed the sanction of the most solemn oaths against us; yet his *innate* loyalty never for a moment deserted his *faithful* breast, and even since that time he has encircled his glasses with our *white rose*, and has engraven on them, what is still deeper engraven on his heart, the true orison of the Tories for the accomplishment of *their* wishes, no less than of *our own*, the comprehensive FIAT. We are extremely happy to hear that he is at present in the *Privy Council*; and we do promise, on our *royal word*, that he shall be continued in it on our RESTORATION.

The happy progress you have so speedily made to give all power into the hands of *your countrymen*, is matter of true joy to us, and gives us the most promising hopes that they will soon rise superior to all *resistance*, which can be made, either by the obstinacy of those, who have ever been our *enemies*, or by the new *advocates* of a bold intruder on the *indefeasible* rights of our true line, and *unalienable* possessions of our ancient inheritance. They will always be asserted with dignity by our august family

family, and we are the more assured of it, because another noble *Scot*, our cousin, lord *Dunbar*, of the loyal stock of *Murray*, when he was *groom of the stole* to his royal highness, formed the mind of our most dear son, *CHARLES*, prince of Wales, to all virtues, and, above all to the two princely virtues of our race, strict *æconomy* and exemplary *piety*. We have already given the *green ribband* to this distinguished friend of our son, but we have gracious intentions of bestowing on him likewise the *GARTER*, *should it not interfere with any of the blood royal of Stuart*.

We thank you for the favours you have shewn to so many of our friends, whom we have seen in our exile. We retain the most lively sense of the professions of attachment, which we personally condescend to accept at our court here from so many of the *old interest*. We have reason to be satisfied with more than one *Dashwood*; and we enjoin you to go on to heap your favours on all *that party*.

Yet, dear cousin, we must acquaint you that your friends here are unanimously of opinion, that in some things you have deviated from that regard to your own interest, and prudent attention to your own power, which seem in general to have governed your conduct. You have too soon dropt the masque

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You have not justly weighed the true temper and dispositions of our enemies about you. They have acted towards our predecessors like wanton boys, tugging at the end of a rope, who will not desist till they find it slackened by him who holds the other end, and then they are content to let it go. The experience of this was happily made by our *uncle*, but most unfortunately neglected by our *father*. Do not aim too soon at the *ministerial despotism* we know you have in view. You may, by too large strides, miss your footing; and if you do, *we* are irrecoverably undone, and *your* fortunes will have a tragical end. The annals of *Scotland* are already more stained with blood, than those of any country in *Europe*, and horrid butcheries disgrace every page of her history.

If ever you are pressed to give your assent to an enquiry into the past management of the public revenue, avoid the yielding to it as long as possible: it will fatally *recoil* on yourself. If you are at last forced to give up the point, boldly promise a *commission* of all public accounts. You may afterwards swear that you only engaged for a *committee*, and never thought of a *commission*. The *poor creature*, who will seem so very earnest in it, will be easily duped. Perhaps, indeed, he will desire to be duped.

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You may make the most pompous professions of the sacredness of your promise at the very moment you are violating it. The house of *Stuart* has always claimed, and exercised, a *dispensing power*, as to promises, oaths, and vows; and you are indeed, dear cousin, full blood to us. If there is any one, whom you allow, as your *factor*, to share in some degree your power, instruct him not directly to oppose it, but let him endeavour to postpone it to another year, *for all the accounts of the war will then be closed*. Let him urge that *it should not now be gone into, nor should a negative be put upon it*. The evil day should be put off both from you and him. If, however, it must come on, give good salaries to all those who shall be named to take the public accounts. This will nobly protract it, and you will be able to provide for a *nest* of our old friends the *Tories*, till they are all gently *wasted* into places of ease and profit.

We have deeply meditated on the public *odium* which has ever pursued you. We must tell you that this has not been the pique of a senseless and outrageous multitude, nor a flame raised by the breath of private whispers. It has arisen from the indignation of the *wise* and *most virtuous* of our people, who have lamented your incapacity, but have abhorred your *guilt*, and blushed at the *dishonours* which

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they have cursed you for their being reproached with among the nations of *Europe*. You ought, dear cousin, to reflect that the party which opposes our interest, is great in numbers as well as in rank and fortune. Their abilities too are incomparably superior to those of *our friends*, their experience in every department of public business much greater, their characters more respectable, and their persons favoured by all, but those whose principles in government are the same with *yours* and *ours*, and in religion differ but little from us. The subordinate ranks among them must, as yet, be considered as a part of the community not safely to be depended upon, till it please heaven to subdue their minds to a perfect and ready submission to a superior power, and to quell that high, uncontrollable spirit of liberty, which the *English* dare to claim as their birthright, and in every age endeavour to make their first distinguishing characteristic.

As to the *military*, you are desired, dear cousin, to make it as numerous as possible. There will be ample provision for your *needy countrymen*, who are so devoted to *you* and to *us*. Never regard the finances of the country. First consider your own safety. This is the more necessary, as you do not know how soon
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all may be insufficient to protect you from an enraged multitude.

As you have the command of every thing, deal out the most boundless largesses, yet preach up œconomy, and, in all trifles, practise it; however never cease parading on every article. Abuse likewise all your predecessors, and extol yourself as the model of all virtues. Your creatures are bound to believe, and to propagate that faith.

Our royal house has been long wedded to calamity, and we have drank deep of the cup of bitterness. The frowns of heaven have been severe upon us. The solemn curse of the first of our family, who ascended the throne of England, seems still to hang upon us: *If I spare any that are found guilty, in the case of Somerset whom he did spare, God's curse light on me and my posterity for ever.* Every attempt for our relief has, as in consequence, been said by heretics to have providentially miscarried. A gleam of hope at length breaks upon us; for though the usurper at present has got our crown, he has got all our ministers too.

Given under our sign manual and privy signet of the THISTLE, at our court at Rome, the second day of January, in the sixty-third year of our reign.

J. R.

Countersigned James Murray.

Numb

Numb. XXXIX. Saturday, Feb. 26, 1763.

Ante hæc durissima tempora, reipublicæ nihil aliud unquam
objectum est, nisi crudelitas illius temporis. CIC.

Before those very bad times, nothing else was ever objected but
the cruelty of that age.

THERE is a great resemblance between the
histories of most nations, whose forms
of government are nearly similar. All the
three states of *Greece* experienced the same
kind of internal convulsions, and their final
destiny was the same. The resemblance be-
tween particular periods of history, in different
states as well as in the same body politic, is
sometimes remarkably striking. There are few
passages in the *Roman* history but find their ex-
act parallels in our own. *Oliver Cromwell* plays
the same poor farce (and acts it as ill) in his
refusal of the crown from a committee of par-
liament, as *Julius Cæsar* had before done on a
like offer from *Mark Anthony*. The compari-
son of particular periods of the history of the
same nation is still more just, and an argu-
ment may be drawn from it with more truth
and

and precision, because it is founded in the genius of the people, and the form of the government.

I must own, that at present I am struck with the close similitude between the four last years of queen *Anne's* reign, and the present times. The nation was then in a war with *France* which had been carried on with amazing success, and indeed, very little remained to be effected to reduce that exorbitant power, which had threatened the liberties of mankind, within the most moderate bounds. All these just and glorious hopes were blasted by the infamous *peace of Utrecht*, which completed the disgrace of the sovereign, and the dishonour of *England*; for it was attended with ignominy to ourselves, and with the most shameful breach of faith to our allies. We have lately been engaged in a war with the same power. It has been carried on with, at least, equal glory; but for all our blood and treasure, we have only the wretched present of the *preliminary articles of peace signed at Fountainebleau*, with promise that the gross faults which have been pointed out to an ignorant minister, and which would have disgraced a *Tartar*, or a *Sclavonian*, should be amended. THIS HERE lord-mayor

* William Beckford, Esq;

of London, in an *elegant* and *masterly* speech, publicly declared, *that the present peace was in every respect more infamous than that of Utrecht*; and that he was ready to prove THAT THERE peace was LESSER to be found fault with. He did accordingly, from the duty he owed to his fellow-citizens, and from his steady, admirable uniformity of conduct, summon a common-council expressly on that great occasion, to explain and enforce with patriotic zeal the important cause of their meeting, and propose an address to the legislature, to stop in time the progress of so alarming a negotiation, founded on the strong evidence of the *preliminaries*. This was his clear duty, and this he nobly discharged. The city must ever with gratitude look up to him for taking the lead in so manly a way, as became their first magistrate, thus called upon in such a cause, by that love of his country, which in him still rises superior, unshaken, and unseduced by all the *arts and caresses*, as well as by the *lavish promises*, of courts and ministers. Great in himself, and in a legion of public and private virtues, he despises all *honours*, as the vile traffic of courts, nor has he a wish to change a *title* only *temporary*, for one *hereditary* and *perpetual*. He will therefore never lend himself to *prop* the minister who made this *infamous peace*, as he terms it;

it; but will, I am persuaded, continue steady, indefatigable, and animated in an opposition to him.

As the two *Treaties* are so much alike, there is also a wonderful similitude between the two *ministers*, who fabricated the two treaties; the *lord High-Treasurer*, and the present *first lord of the Treasury*. The true reason with both was the preservation of their own power. The ostensible reason to the public has, in both cases, been the same, and equally false, that the nation was not able to carry on the war. The *earl of Oxford* and *earl Mortimer*, opened his plan of power, and drew in the enemies of the constitution to support him, by abusing the *revolution* and its great author, *king William*. The present minister has been equally industrious in procuring the vilest hirelings to revile the *good king*, and all whose families brought about the *revolution*, and who have steadily supported the family on the throne against the Pretender. It is remarkable, that only at one period of his reign, at the beginning of 1708, when the queen was alarmed by the arrival of the Pretender at *Dunkirk*, and the preparations made for landing in *Scotland*, the *revolution* was mentioned in terms of approbation, and the friends of it, in that day of danger, were considered as the only firm security of the throne. In the

answer to the address of the house of lords, the
 queen says, " I must always place my chief
 dependence upon those, who have given
 such repeated proofs of the greatest warmth,
 and concern for the support of the REVO-
 LUTION, the security of my person, and of
 the Protestant succession." How thoroughly
 Scotland was at that time tainted with *Jaco-*
bitism quite through, even to its rotten core, a
 famous *Scottish* historian shall tell. *Lockhart* of
Carmath, in his *Memoirs*, p. 343, says, " Peo-
 ple of all ranks were daily more and more
 persuaded that nothing but the restoration
 of the royal family, and that BY THE MEANS
 OF SCOTSMEN, could restore them to their
 rights: so that now there was SCARCE ONE
 OF A THOUSAND that did not declare for
 the king, (*anglicè the Pretender*) nay, the
 Presbyterians and the Cameronians were
 willing to pass over the objection of his being
 a Papist; for, said they, according to their
 predestinating principles, God may convert
 him, or he may have protestant children."
 and again, in p. 344, " On ALL occasions,
 in ALL places, and by ALL people of ALL
 persuasions, nothing was to be heard through-
 out ALL the country, save an universal de-
 claration in favour of the king," that is, the
Scottish king. One of the first addresses to his
 Vol. II. L present

present majesty, from the most eminent in the opposition to his family, makes his majesty's *hereditary* right the *only* principle of their loyalty.

Another topic of *their* abuse has been our allies. In the queen's time the odium fell on the *Dutch*: in our own, on the king of *Prussia*. The same reason was equally strong in the two cases; for both warmly concurred in the support of all our measures against the common enemy, *France*.

When *that Earl Mortimer* had in effect seized the crown, he removed the two most eminent persons who ever appeared in the different stations, the duke of *Marlborough*, and the earl of *Godolphin*. *Burnet* says, "the wise management of the one at home, and the glorious conduct of the other abroad, one would have thought, would have fixed them in the posts above the little practices of an artful favourite, who had not shewn any tokens of a great genius, and was only eminent in the art of deluding those that hearkened to him." *That Earl Mortimer* drove from the sovereign's councils all the great and eminent men of that reign. He turned out most of the lords lieutenants of the several counties, and removed almost all the *Whig* justices of the peace. We too have seen several of the first characters

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among the *English* nobility removed from being his majesty's *lieutenants* in several counties. There is yet no alteration as to the *justices of peace*. The change in those commissions is reserved for a change in the possession of the Great Seal, which is at present in the hands of an *Englishman*.

That *Earl Mortimer* removed a considerable number of the *Whigs*, and the friends of the *revolution*, and gave their places to professed *Stories*, and to the enemies of liberty. The present minister has made almost a total re-
sumption of all the appointments to places in the hands of the *Whigs* whom he disliked, and has ruined many families, who have no other guilt than the being put in by the friends of the late *truly patriot* king. A nature so unrelenting, and a temper so despotic, were never before seen and felt in a first minister of this country.

As soon as that *Earl Mortimer* had effectually secured his interest with the *Queen*, he kept her in a state of imprisonment, and suffered none but his own creatures, to be about her person. The sovereign was then actually in a state of thralldom, and what is infinitely the worse kind of slavery, was held in a captivity of the understanding. The royal mind was enslaved in the most wretched manner ; yet that

Earl Mortimer had the impudence to assert, that he had only freed his sovereign from the chains of the old ministry. Have not the two venal scribblers of our times, the *BRITON* and the *AUDITOR*, perpetually declaimed, that the late ministry only resigned, because they could not controul and govern their master?

That Earl Mortimer got privately into the palace by means of one bad, ungrateful woman, *Mrs. Masham*; and in a short time compleated his ascendancy over the mind of his sovereign. Here I do not find the least similitude

As the view of both ministers has undoubtedly been the same, the preservation of their enormous power, both have made use of the same apt instruments. Their tools were the *Tories*, and all the revilers of the *protestant succession*.

That Earl Mortimer having got entire possession of the heart of his sovereign, and the power of the crown being, as it were, delegated to him, he employed it to purchase and to secure a majority of the two houses of parliament. Thus in effect he obtained the sovereignty of three kingdoms, and kept his power by distributing the revenue of the *civil list* to some, by giving places to others, and by creating twelve new peers at once. Since *October 1760* seventeen new *peerages* have been created, nine

additional *lords*, and an astonishing number of *Tory grooms of the bed-chamber* have been made; every *obsolete, useless* place has been revived, and every occasion of encreasing salaries has been seized with eagerness. That great reformer of abuses, the new *Whig* head of the board of trade, has just condescended to stipulate for an additional salary *without power*, as the price of his support of this *Tory* government. In all these cases, however, *merit* has been the sole motive. Here again we do not find the most distant resemblance. The *corruption* under the Queen's *Tory* administration was so flagrant, that they had greatly overdrawn the *civil list*, and the venal parliament of 1713, was easily brought to vote 500,000 *l.* which was given to pay off the debts of corruption, contracted in that short, infamous period. This was the boasted œconomy of the most ignorant, and incapable set of men, who ever pretended to the direction of the public business. The *Whigs* had managed the *civil list* so well, that the queen had for several years given 100,000 *l.* towards the expences of the war, had contributed 120,000 *l.* to the support of the poor *Palatines*, and had laid out above 100,000 *l.* in the building of *Blenheim-House*. Yet, by their wise management, the *civil list* was more than adequate to those expences of

government, for which it was given. The *civil list* was so ill managed by the *Tories*, that very unfairly at the end of a session, the queen was brought to ask 500,000 *l.* of her parliament, which these *frugal* dispensers of the public treasure *precipitately* and *eagerly* voted; for they knew it would soon find its way among them. They were ever puzzling at the public accounts, pretending great abuses, yet, though invested with the fullest powers, had never the capacity of detecting even the *smallest*, which must creep into offices.

The present *civil list* exceeds that in the queen's time, by 200,000 *l.* I have not heard that any part of it has been given towards the great expences of this war; and I have heard of most wonderful savings in the articles of *beer* and *pudding*, *candles*, and *coals*, &c. &c. &c. I believe that 118,000 *l.* of the late King's *civil list* has been received since the demise of the crown. I am therefore satisfied that the report of a speedy application to parliament, grounded on the distress already pretended to be felt, can have no foundation; because I am satisfied that there has been *no corruption* in this virtuous reign, in which it has been so openly and warmly disclaimed. Even at its commencement, a declaration was made, that not a shilling should be issued to serve any sinister

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“ purposes of government, nor to give any undue influence. Every man was now to be left to act and to vote according to the dictates of his own conscience : no menaces would ever be used, no punishments, no sufferings be known. The crown has nothing to ask of the people, but to follow their own interest, which, in this patriot reign, would be left to them to discover and to pursue, unbiaſſed, uncorrupted.”

That *Earl Mortimer* was educated in the religion of the *Kirk of Scotland*, and passed his youth among the *Presbyterians*. He afterwards put himself at the head of the *Tory* faction, and gave into the most slavish doctrines of the indefeasible rights of the crown, and the immense extent of the prerogative. Is there not the strongest parity of circumstances in our time, both from the minister, and all those who have wrote under him ? When has the prerogative of the crown been sounded so loud ?

When that *Earl Mortimer* had securely, in his own imagination, established his power, he threw off all regard to his sovereign ; and knowing that the *Whigs* and the *Hanover* family would never suffer his tyranny, he endeavoured to sacrifice his gracious mistress rather than forfeit his own power, and actually formed a scheme to repeal the *Act of Settlement*. The

death of that princess, the last *weak* remnant of the unhappy house of *Stuart*, frustrated his designs, and prevented a slavish *Tory* faction from restoring arbitrary power. One anecdote on this occasion ought to be transmitted to posterity. The legal successor, his Majesty's great-grand-father, was then absent from the kingdom. No man but a *Scot* was enough tainted with treason, to offer his service to proclaim the Pretender, in the *English* capital, at noon-day on the *Royal Exchange*. This *George Keith*, late *Earl Marischal*, did. He was afterwards attainted of *high treason*, and during the two last reigns, to elude the justice of his country, he lived abroad. He at all times openly declared himself a subject of the Pretender, and publicly affronted the *English Ambassador*, at *Paris*, in the most mortifying manner, because it was before an infinite number of our inveterate, insulting enemies. The late king, from his great clemency, did indeed pardon him; but this noble, loyal country-man of the minister, has in the present reign obtained near 12,000 *l.* out of the purchase money and interest due to the public for certain parts of his estate. I have stated the grant accurately; for though the public was duped by the idea which went forth, that it was only a grant of 3,618 *l.* 9 *s.* 0 *d.* yet, it

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was expressly mentioned, that *that* sum should bear interest from *Whitsunday* 1721.

I shall conclude with one very short remark. On the death of Queen *Anne*, the political barometer of the stocks *rose*: on the death of the late excellent king, it *fell*.

Numb. XL. Saturday, March 5, 1763.

Ita bonum publicum, ut in plerisque negotiis solet, privatâ gratiâ devictum. SALLUST.

Thus the public good, as generally happens, is borne down by private interest.

THE following memorial shall speak for itself. The memorialist has been long disappointed by the board of *treasury*, and instead of redress, finds even the *spirit of enquiry* so low, that he at length despairs of an examination into the merits of his case. He has therefore a right to state it, first to the *twenty-one chosen* sons of virtue, and next to the *public* at large. THE NORTH BRITON, who will ever make his appeal to that respectable tribunal, gives him the opportunity. What a shallow pretence to the least *reformation of abuses*, or to

to any degree of *æconomy*, the *first lord of the treasury* has, is apparent from the little attention paid to this memorial. Is the *clear head* of the *chancellor of the exchequer* too so puzzled with the public accounts, or the *new tax*, that he cannot give one hour to justice and to a gentleman, who declares himself highly injured? I hoped that business would now have been conducted in another *guess kind of a manner*; for I borrow his favourite mode of expression. From the warm approbation which the *tax on dogs* had publicly from him the last year, I thought every thing had been long ago settled for this session. He was then no less serious than eager for it. If that *tax* is not now sufficient, let him speak out; for, to be sure his views are *more* extended: *not that he's wiser, but he's higher*. Suppose he adds *ducks* the *lame ducks* in the *alley* excepted; and I appeal to the clergy, if this *dog-and-duck tax* would not be as good as his humane plan of selling all their livings, or any other of his many *practicable* schemes.

As to the *memorial*, I shall only say, that an enquiry has been made, and that Mr. *Powell* is still continued. With respect to the letter mentioned in the *memorial*, I should guess that it was at the time suppressed from the *treasury*; or, perhaps, in violation of every rule

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honour, and of every right of *office*, with papers of the utmost moment, conveyed away to a patron very similar and worthy of him, by the most treacherous, base, selfish, mean, abject, low-lived and dirty fellow, that ever *wriggled* himself into a * secretaryship.

The affair is of real moment, not only for the vindication of the characters of the gentlemen concerned, but for the good of the service. A luxurious, pampered *Englishman* may indeed exclaim, *What! OATS! OATS? a paper on OATS! Is it from Brobdignag? Have the BRITON and AUDITOR died for this?* Like captain Lemuel Gulliver, *sullen he turns from both, and calls for OATS.* We *North Britons*, however, know the importance of the subject, and the delicacy of the food; for *Pensioner Johnson*, in his *Dictionary*, says very truly, *OATS, a grain which in England, is generally given to horses, but in Scotland, supports the people.*

* Samuel M——, Esq;

To

*To the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners
of his Majesty's treasury.*

*The MEMORIAL of JOHN GHEST, late
an Inspector of his Majesty's magazines in
Germany :*

Most humbly represents,

THAT in May 1761, your memorialist having been at *Bremen*, in order to attend his duty, as an inspector of his Majesty's magazines, was appointed by colonel *Peirson*, to put a stop, as far as in your memorialist lay to the many and frequent abuses there in practice, in sending bad and damaged *oats* up the river *Weser*, for the use of his majesty's army.

That your memorialist, having applied himself with zeal for his majesty's service, and used his closest attention and utmost endeavours to correct and prevent the aforesaid pernicious abuses, was so fortunate as in a great measure to put a stop to the same; which gave umbrage to several persons there, who had views and interests in such practices, very remote and different from those of your memorialist: and your memorialist's conduct therein was so clear and manifest, and the services which he rendered were such, that the said colonel *Peirson*

son, on the first day of July, writ a letter to your memorialist, wherein are the words following, viz.

“ I approve very much of what you have been doing, *for bad oats must upon no account be sent from thence*; I shall write to the major to-day in the strongest terms, that he does not attempt to send *any thing that is not perfectly good.*”

as by the said original letter, in your memorialist's hands, ready to be produced to your lordships, may more fully appear.

That your memorialist, having a few days after discovered, that a considerable quantity of bad and damaged *oats* was loaded on waggon, by private traders of *Bremen*, with a design to be transported for his majesty's army, he stopped the same, and prevented the transport thereof, and by that means put a stop, for some time, to that pernicious practice among those traders, and having reported to colonel *Peirson* his proceedings, and the steps he took in the discharge of his duty, and the trust reposed in him, the said colonel *Peirson*, by his letter, dated *Nord Denker*, the 15th of July aforesaid, writes to your memorialist in the following words, viz.

“ I ap-

“ I approve very much of what you have
 “ done, in stopping the transport of bad oats
 “ to the army. It certainly is comprehended
 “ within *your duty, which is to be as extensive as*
 “ *possible, in the prevention of any bad arriving*
 “ *here.*”

as by the said original letter, of the proper
 hand-writing and signature of the said *colonel*
Peirson, ready to be produced to your lordships
 may also more fully and at large appear.

That your memorialist, by a perseverance in
 his duty, in opposing and preventing the trans-
 porting many quantities of bad and damaged
 oats, having, as he has just reason to believe
 given uneasiness and disappointment to several
 who were interested in sending bad oats to the
 army ; they found ways and means, by the
 sinister and underhand contrivances, to cause
 be removed from *Bremen*, about the 12th
 September following, a lieutenant, with a com-
 mand of some dragoons, who had been station-
 ed there, in order to compel the skippers
 prepare their vessels with dispatch to take
 grain, &c. for the army, and had assisted your
 memorialist in the execution of his duty : and
 without such aid your memorialist could not
 effectually continue to put a stop to said frau-
 dulent proceedings.

That your memorialist, finding himself deprived of the said assistance, and seeing the practice renewed of sending away bad oats for the army, about the end of said September, he made a representation thereof to *Michael Hatton*, Esq; late commissioner-general, then arrived at *Bremen*, who would not pay any regard thereto: and in some days after, your memorialist made a like representation of the aforesaid abuses to *lieutenant-colonel Pownal*, then also arrived at *Bremen*; who, in answer thereto, bid your memorialist go on as he had done, and added these words, "You shall be backed, well backed:" which gave your memorialist reason to apprehend and believe, that he should have a sufficient number of men assigned him, to prevent said abuses; but the said *Mr. Pownal* never thought fit to appoint any one person to assist your memorialist, in pursuance of his promise as aforesaid.

That a person named *Uckerman*, who was greatly interested in sending bad oats to his majesty's army, and who has made an immense fortune by such commerce, having, soon after the said *Mr. Pownal's* said promises to your memorialist, laid a considerable quantity of bad oats on board vessels, with a design to transport the same for the army; your memorialist made a report thereof to the said *Mr. Pownal*, who

who, instead of preventing the same, gave your memorialist, to his great surprize, the following order and authority, in his own proper hand-writing and signature, to wit:

“ As I see nothing in your report to occasion my detaining the four vessels laden with oats, as therein specified, *I think you may certify, that as they are, though not good, and such as ought to be passable, they may pass up to the army.*”

Signed, *T. Pownal*, first commissary of contrôle.

*To Mr. Ghest, king's inspector
of magazines. Bremen,
Oct. 9, 1761.*

as by the original in your memorialist's hands ready to be produced to your lordships, may more fully appear.

That on the next day, your memorialist made a report to the said Mr. *Pownal*, of another quantity of the said *Uckerman's* bad oats, in vessels, ready to be transported for the army, which report was in the words following:

“ Upon inspecting forty lasts of Mr. *Uckerman's* oats, in two of *Harm Hanning's* vessels

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“fels, I find that the greater part thereof con-
 “sists of various sorts of bad *oats* ; some red,
 “having been burned ; others grown, and the
 “grain exhausted ; others blue, which never
 “were any thing but shell : and the whole
 “having a great deal of chaff and dirt in it.
 “*Bremen, Oct. 10, 1761.* Signed, *John Ghest,*
 “inspector ; and directed to lieutenant-colonel
 “*Pownal, &c.*”

That the said *Uckerman*, having made an ap-
 plication to the said Mr. *Pownal* to pass said
oats, the said gentleman had a further examina-
 tion made of the same by two grooms, in the
 presence of his first clerk ; who finding that the
 said *oats* were very bad, did not fail to confirm
 your memorialist's said report.

That notwithstanding all this, the said Mr.
Pownal, very soon afterwards, permitted those
 very *oats* to be sent up for the army ; and ne-
 ver after suffered your memorialist to inspect
 any of said *Uckerman's* *oats*.

That said Mr. *Pownal*, having left *Bremen*
 about the 23d of November, left at the same
 time a free passage up the *Weser*, for the trans-
 porting of all said *Uckerman's* bad *oats*, with-
 out obstacle ; which said bad *oats* had been re-
 ceived by your memorialist : and also, great
 quantities of the like bad and damaged *oats*,

that had been provided for the army by one *Mamberg*, and were not fit for use; (which the said Mr. *Pownal* well knew, by a report made to him thereof, by persons employed by him to examine the same in the presence of a public notary, a copy of which said report is in the hands of your memorialist, ready to be produced to your lordships) and likewise many ship-loads of the like, which afterwards came up the river. So that your memorialist has had the mortification to see his efforts for his majesty's service rendered abortive; and his good services and endeavours for the public good have been since recompensed by the said Mr. *Pownal*, upon his return from *England* into *Germany*, with a paper, containing a dismissal in writing from his majesty's service, in the words following, *viz.*

Bremen, May 18, 1762.

“ Sir, by virtue of the power and authority vested in me, I do hereby acquaint you, that I have no further occasion for your service as an inspector, and that your pay ceases from this day, of which you will hereafter take notice. I am, Sir, your obedient servant.”

Signed, *T. Pownal*, director of the office
controle.

To Mr. Ghest, at Bremen.

That your memorialist most humbly hopes, and fully apprehends, that his conduct and endeavours in his majesty's service, will appear fair and unblemished; and that the said dismissal is without any foundation of any charge, or colour of any crime against him.

And here your memorialist, with the greatest submission, begs leave to say, that he has undoubted reason to believe, that his said dismissal has been owing to a letter written by him on the 28th of November, 1761, to *Samuel Martin, Esq;* wherein your memorialist gave intimation of the misconduct of the said *Mr. Pownal*; and to no other real cause: and that your memorialist is the more persuaded thereof, from a declaration made by the said *Mr. Pownal*, in a public company, on the very evening when first he declared his dismissal to your memorialist; expressing, that your memorialist had writ something to this right honourable board, which might have done him much harm; as your memorialist was well informed by a gentleman of veracity then present: a procedure that will never escape the just and equitable observations of your lordships.

That your memorialist, from the motive of zealous regard for the good of the public, sent *Bremen* with his family, at a great expence,

in order to lay the aforesaid facts before your lordships.

All which he most humbly submits to your lordships.

Numb. XLI. Saturday, March 12, 1763

Carpent tua poma nepotes.

VIRG.

Posterity shall pluck thy fruits.

I SHALL not this week touch a single drop of Sir Francis*—*Dashwood's cyder*. I will leave it all till he has gauged the *hogshead*, and has found how many *gallons* it contains. When he has learnt a little of his lesson, I may perhaps condescend to argue on the new taxes *wine* and *cyder*, with the *chancellor of the exchequer*, who by the confession of his own board as well as of the rest of mankind, now stands forth the most confused, most incapable, and most ignorant of all, who ever *accepted* the seal of that high office. I shall perhaps too *ex* postulate with him, how very unkind and un-

* See *Vanbrugh's Journey to London*.

grateful he is to his two old friends, the *grape* and *apple*: but they have already been amply revenged on him. *Rode, caper, vitem, tamen, &c.* A disgrace seems to be intailed on these unsocial attacks, and all the genial powers conspire to frustrate them. *Eloquence* and *wit* take the alarm, fearful of losing the advantages of an old *amiable union* with *such* friends. *Wit* points its keenest arrows, and the noble tide of *eloquence* bears down the poor creature who made the *feeble* attack. He remains *a little while* an object of pity, and is then consigned over to eternal oblivion †.

At present I shall quit this comic scene to do justice to a very ingenious correspondent, who has sent me the following letter:

TO THE NORTH BRITON.

S I R,

I WAS surpris'd the other day with a visit from an old acquaintance, whom I had not seen since the year *forty-five*. He had been outlawed on account of his engagements in the *last rebellion*, and was just returned from abroad, where he had remained ever since that memo-

† In the following month Sir *Francis Dashwood* resigned the *Seals*.

able æra. He was a true BRITON, and a zealous lover of his countrymen. He had lately sent for his youngest son from the Highlands of *Scotland*, to receive *national* preferment under a truly BRITISH administration. I could not help enjoying the satisfaction of mind, which appeared in my old friend's countenance, on having now settled all his family to his utmost wishes; for he told me that this young gentleman was assured of particular favour and advancement under the present government, I would say administration; and the five patriotic heroes, his brothers, were already provided for in the service of him, whom we call the PRETENDER.

As the boy, who appeared to be about eighteen, was but a raw *chield*, and seemed entirely ignorant of every thing on this side the *Tweed*, I thought I could not spend the day better, in respect to his amusement, as well as my own, than by attending young maister *Macdonald*, in the quality of *Ciceroni*, to shew him the sights about this great metropolis. This scheme tallied exactly with my friend's business, who was obliged to wait on his patron at a certain hour, in order to return him thanks for his son's near promotion, and at the same time to solicit his Lordship for a vacant place in the Treasury for his brother, or in the Post

office

office for his nephew, or in the Exchequer for his cousin, or in the Custom-house for his cousin's cousin, or any where for any of his countrymen. All which, his *known* attachment to his patron, his loyalty to *his* king, and love to *his* country, gave him sufficient reason to expect from a minister who makes it his pride, as it is his declaration, to encourage merit wherever he finds it—except in a *Whig*. On this account he very readily left him to my care, and agreed to meet us at his return among the tombs in *Westminster-Abbey*; for after our *City* tour, and visiting the two houses of parliament, *Westminster-Hall*, and *Westminster-Bridge*, that was settled to be our last stage, and the rendezvous for the day. The young gentleman was much delighted with the curiosities of the *Tower*. He seemed very little to regard the fire-arms, but expatiated largely on the terror of the *broad-sword*, and on the sure, dark, death-dealing *dirk*. He took particular notice that all the *foreign wild* beasts were confined in their dens, while the *foreign, tame Lord-Mayor* was permitted to walk at large in his *chains*.

At our return to *Westminster-Abbey*, in looking over that Mausoleum of great men, great rascals, great scholars, and great fools, my young companion testified much surprise at the

enormous wigs of the last age, in Parian buckle, and the *pagan* divinities of the present *à-la-mode*. His curiosity, I must own, perplexed me, by desiring some rational and historical account of those piles of marble, erected to the memory of great generals who were never heard of, or ought for ever to be forgotten; and illustrious statesmen, who had no other chance to be remembered at all. He seemed in *second sight*, already to behold new and superb monuments erected to his valiant countrymen; and he dwelt much on the magnificent *labour of a future age*, to the great *American* hero, the earl of LOUDON. He raved too of epitaphs, and the scrupulous attachment to truth, which is ever kept up in them. In the heat of his enthusiasm, he gave capacity and virtue to an earl of BUTE; and, what is remarkable, one *Englishman* had his praises; he gave an elegant form, a liberal disposition, and a soul capable of the nicest honour, and truest friendship to the earl of POWIS.

But when we were got within the iron gate, the office of *Ciceroni* was taken off my hands by a fellow, who, upon the regular demand and payment of a three-penny fee, preceded to the first chapel, flirting about a switch with a careless familiar air of consequence, and humming a *divine hymn*, to the tune of *Nancy Dugan*.

son. The extreme volubility of our guide's tongue, which ran over the methodical account of the consecrated dead, with equal emphasis, whether they bled by the point of a sword, or the prick of a needle, gave us, indeed, little leisure to dwell upon any single object; but left my companion's mind in a confused state of general admiration, till we were conducted into EDWARD the Confessor's chapel. While the rest of the company, for we had licked up several more in our passage, besides my old friend, who had by this time rejoined us, were taken up in contemplating the waxen image of the duke of BUCKINGHAM, and examining the elegance of his glass shoe-buckles, my young *Scotsman* carelessly flung himself into one of the old chairs, which were placed like useless lumber at the side of this heady representation of life. According to the customary extortion of the place, our conductor claimed a forfeit, which you may be sure maister *Macdonald* was not so untutored in economy as to comply with. But when the historian, with an air of authority informed us: This is the chair in which his majesty was crowned. Underneath it is the stone supposed to be *Jacob's* pillar; it was brought from home in *Scotland*. They were both used at the ceremony of the coronation of the kings of *Scotland*,

Scotland, and brought into *England* on the conquest of that kingdom by *Edward* the First." These words were hardly out of his mouth, when I perceived my young gentleman's eyes glistening with uncommon transport, and rolling about from the stone to his father, from his father to the stone, till at length unable to contain himself any longer, the prophetic inspiration came upon him, and he repeated, like the Sibyls of old, with equal rapture, and in full as good verse, this memorable couplet:

*Ni fallat fatum, SCOTI, quocunque locatum
Invenient lapidem, regnare tenentur ibidem.*

"Or fate's deceived, and heaven decreed
in vain,

"Or where they find this stone, the Scots
shall reign." CAMDEN

Oot, oot, mon, cries his father, clapping me on the back with great earnestness, and looking his son full in the face, let the *NORTH BRITON* and his advocates burst their weams, here is a prophecy for us, better than *faisty PROPHECIES OF FAMINE*. Yon stone there is more precious than the philosopher's stone, and *Archimede's eureka* is a folly to't. Ken ye, boy, that ye have sat upon the stone

which has held the purest blood of aw Scotland? And if the family which make such illustrious figures in the *Scottish* annals, and caused such wonderful revolutions in this our kingdom, are not at present in the chair, we can aw tell wha is naxt to it."

I was surpris'd at this sudden exultation of my friend, nor could possibly frame to my mind whence he could draw such strange and wonderful conclusions, on examining a rough, hard stone, which seem'd in my eyes nothing more than a typical representation of the country which it came from. It seem'd to me to indicate as strongly the nature of the country, that it was *Petra et præterea nihil*, as the single bunch of grapes, which was forced to be carried by two men, denoted the fertility of the *land of Canaan*.

This extraordinary alteration of behaviour, both of the old and young gentleman, much surpris'd me. The completion of this glorious prophecy had so intoxicated their understandings, that they could not behave commonly civil. Upon my remonstrating, with proper submission, that this prophecy could by no means extend to *England*, especially as we were now a sovereign, whom we *English* gloried in as being our countryman, and whom we should neither be so complaisant or traitorous
ever

ever to *sell* or to give up for all the *Stuarts* in the world, my loyal friend, with great eagerness, and thorough *Scottish* good-breeding, interrupted me hastily, by telling me, with a supercilious air of authority, “Sir, we have as good a right to this country as yourselves; and let me tell you, Sir, there is nae such thing as an *Englishman*, and I hope shortly the very name will be annihilated.” Convinced of the sincerity of his wishes, but unwilling to be persuaded out of my birth-right, or bullied out of my senses, I left them at coming out of the iron-gates, to the contemplation of their rising greatness, and the new modelling of their new kingdom, by beautifully tempering those two happy peculiarities, *Scottish elegance*, and *Scottish oeconomy*.

When I had got home, and began to reflect upon our expedition, though I must confess I was somewhat ruffled by the unexpected insolence of my two companions, I was more heartily vexed, that what I had at first conceived to be impossible, upon recollection, appeared more than probable. There had indeed been some pains taken, in the glorious reign of that *pacific* monarch, *James* the First, to establish their *right*, founded upon this stone, and warranted by this prophecy; but now, under the administration of the *elder* branch

of that august family of the *Stuarts*, with such conspicuous abilities to support him, in all those measures so conducive to the welfare of *his* country, I think I may fairly wish them joy of their prophecy being fulfilled, more especially as I find it corroborated and marked out for these times by another, which is as clear and express :

*When ANDREW shall unite with JAMES,
And TWEED adulterate with THAMES;
When Cod shall make the Salmon rue,
Blue turn to yellow, green to blue;
When John leaves Marg'ret in the lurch,
And Presbyterians head the church;
When cold JAMAICA sends for * PEAT
From FLORIDA to roast her meat;
When Reformation turns a shrew,
And aets as RIOT us'd to do;
When ENGLAND's lost, and BRITAIN wins,
When UNION's firm, and STRIFE begins;
When STUART's claims are all o'erthrown,
And STUART reigns without a crown;
Then triumph, SCOTLAND, thou hast won;
ENGLAND look to't—the charm's begun.*

* See No. XXXV. and Note in p. 118.

Numb. XLII. Saturday, March 19, 1768

Utinam istuc verbum ex animo ac verè diceret.

TAR

I wish you had used this word truly, and from your soul.

THERE is generally *one* favourite, ministerial word in high vogue. The minister himself first broaches it, and afterwards the whole herd of his dependents is ordered to echo it through the nation. During the administration of Mr. *Pelham*, the fashionable word was *candour*. He frequently made use of it, and he really loved the thing more than the word. His whole public conduct gave the most convincing proofs of his *candour*. The *cant word* of the present ministry is OECONOMY. There is not a poor, insignificant *English* Tory or *Scottish*, *Jacobite* clerk, who has been three days in the *customs*, or *excise*, but has already learnt his lesson, and talks incessantly of the new minister's *oeconomy*. We hear of nothing but *oeconomy*, though we cannot, in any ordinary business of national concern, discern the least trace of it. It is become the *Shibboleth* of the whole *Scottish* faction; for *their* countrymen

for ever retailing the *word* to us, even when he is practising the most unbounded prodigality. The *word* he never forgets: the application of it to any public business we have never yet experienced from him. At no period of the English history has the nation been so much amused with *words*, and so grossly abused with glaring *facts* of extortion on the people, as of late by the present *Scottish* minister. It is an old observation, that he that first cries out, *Stop thief*, is often he that has stolen the treasure. We have heard of nothing but *oeconomy*, and we have seen nothing but profusion and extravagance. The proof shall soon follow the assertion; but I shall first state a late very extraordinary occurrence.

By the *Votes of the House of Commons*, we find, that on the seventh of March an address was voted to his Majesty, though not without opposition, *that he would be graciously pleased to employ in the army such persons, as now are, or shall be, upon half-pay, who are qualified to serve his Majesty*. This surely was so plain and self-evident an instance of *oeconomy* to the public, as well as justice to the officer, that such an address must in its very nature be trifling, or must mean a direct insult on the minister. I think, indeed, that he shewed the suspicion which that *honourable house* entertained with regard

gard to his real intention to carry any scheme of *oeconomy* into execution. The *house* knew their gracious sovereign had the wise regulations of a just *oeconomy* at heart: but they seemed greatly to have distrusted the *minister*, and therefore proceeded in a true constitutional manner, by recommending the measure in a dutiful and humble address to the crown. I only argue from the *Votes*, which I suppose are printed, that the public may fairly reason on all parliamentary proceedings, of such a kind as to be judged fit to be submitted to the opinion of mankind. At the opening of the session, in a most gracious speech from the throne, his Majesty strenuously advised his parliament to lay the foundation of that OECONOMY, which we owe to ourselves and to our posterity, and which can alone relieve this nation from the heavy burthens brought upon it by the necessities of this long and expensive war. In the answer likewise to this address, his Majesty is graciously pleased to declare, "It was always my intention to shew my regard to the merit of my half-pay officers, as well as my attention to the lessening of the public expence, by taking every proper opportunity of employing such of them as are qualified for service." It is therefore clear that our most excellent sovereign had always at heart this scheme of *oeconomy*.

and that the *minister* was believed by parliament to be averse to it. This unravels the mystery of this *address*, and proves that it not only became the wisdom of parliament, but was peculiarly adapted to the critical circumstances of the times. The conduct of the minister has shewn the justice of this opinion. The first principles of national *æconomy* have been disregarded, for every regiment has been completed as to its complement of officers, even a few days only before it has been broke, and chiefly by *Scotsmen*. This has most infamously swelled the *half-pay list*, and put the nation to an enormous expence, without a pretence of the least service to the public. I beg to know how many weeks Mr. *Gilbert Elliot's* son has had a captain's commission, and if he is yet *ten* years old? The *list of the army* has been entirely printed off; but was ordered to be suppressed, and the new * *secretary at war*, the *ackall of the paymaster*, bought the whole impression †. This has kept from the eye of the public this infamous scene, as well as the names of several *Scots*, who distinguished themselves under the banners of rebellion in 1745, and have been promoted since the administra-

* *Welbore Ellis*, Esquire.

† *A List of the Army* was after this published.

tion of *their countryman*. Their names, however, shall in due time be given to the public, and their loyal deeds faithfully recorded. By such methods has the *half-pay* list grown to its present enormous size, and so deep a wound been given to the public, even in *æconomy*.

“ Let us now consider another striking instance of the total disregard of *æconomy*: I mean the present loan of 3,500,000*l.* The terms of the new subscription have been so injurious to the public, but so beneficial to the subscribers, that is, to the creatures of the minister, that there was immediately an advance of seven *per cent.* and in a very few days of above eleven *per cent.* I shall, however, only state it at the even round sum of ten *per cent.* that I may not puzzle the *chancellor of the Exchequer*. The whole loan amounted to 3,500,000*l.* consequently, in the period of a very few days, the minister gave among his creatures, and the tools of his power, 350,000*l.* which was levied on the public: the most enormous sum ever divided in so short a time among any set of men. A few of their names I will mention, to shew in what estimation they are held by the public: Messieurs TOUCHET, GLOVER, *Cust**

* Extract from an Affidavit, examined by the Office copy.
—AND this deponent Peregrine Cust for himself saith that

“ (brother to the able and impartial speaker)
 “ *Amyand, Maygens, Salvador, Colebrooke, Thorn-*
 “ *ton, and Muilman,* had each 200,000*l.* of
 “ the new subscription, and of course almost
 “ immediately cleared 20,000*l.* each, which
 “ they have, or have not, shared among their
 “ friends.” In *this* instance, however, I dare
 say, the public will experience *no stoppage of*
payment: such bargains are more likely to

he hath particularly attended to and considered the following
 paragraph or parts of the said annexed paper, A, called the
 North Briton beginning at the 28th line of the third page
 thereof (folio 249) and from thence to the word Friends,
 in the fourth line of the following page (fo. 250) and which
 is or are expressed in the words and figures or to the effect
 following that is to say “ Let us now consider, &c. &c. [as
 above, within the inverted commas] And this deponent fur-
 ther saith that he hath also read over and considered the similar
 paragraphs, or parts of the said reprinted copy of the said paper
 called the North Briton as the same appeared to be expressed
 in the said reprinted copy of the same in the said annexed book
 called the Political Controverfy as the same are therein set
 forth beginning at the twelfth line of the page or folio in the
 said book marked 377 at the like words “ Let us now confi-
 der” and ending at the word “ friends” in the sixth line of the
 page following or folio marked 378 of the same book. And
 this deponent saith that he doth apprehend and think himself
 prejudiced and injured in his character and credit in his busi-
 ness as a merchant of the city of London by the aspersions and
 insinuations respectively contained in the said several parts or
 paragraphs beforementioned and specified of the said paper call-
 ed the North Briton and the reprinted copy thereof in the said
 book called the Political Controverfy so far as the same do re-

bring a nation, than the proprietors themselves, to *bankruptcy*. In a lucrative ministerial *job* of any kind, it was impossible the name of Mr. *Fox* could be admitted. He had 100,000*l.* that is, 10,000*l.* clear profit. What the *jackall* had, I know not ; but Mr. Calcraft, *not in Mr. Fox's name*, had upwards of 70,000*l.* that is, a gift of 7,000*l.* Mr. *Drummond*, a *Scottish banker*, to whom his *countrymen*, while his shop

respectively mention, and relate to the person in the said paper and reprinted copy respectively mentioned by the name of Cuff and that the said papers respectively do contain in the opinion and belief of this deponent very gross defamatory and malevolent as well as false and unjust insinuations and aspersions on the honour character and reputation of this deponent and this deponent saith he is the more fully convinced that this deponent was and is the person meant and intended by the name of Cuff inserted in the said several papers before mentioned called the North Briton and the said reprinted copy thereof for that in or about the months of August and September last it being generally understood that a loan of money would be wanted for the service of the public and support of his Majesty's government in the succeeding year 1763 and it being then uncertain what sum would be wanting (on account of the uncertainty at the time whether the war would continue or not) and it being also apprehended that a much larger loan would be wanted by the government than afterwards was found necessary and it being supposed that eight millions at least would be wanted for the said service and this deponent being desirous of contributing so far as he could to the service of the public by procuring among his friends and acquaintance part of the money which might be wanted for the said loan for the service of the government whether there should be a continuation of the war or not this

deponent

continued open, had such obligations in 1745, was gratified with 72,000*l.* or, in other words, had 7,200*l.* given him. I hope that this *douceur* is really meant for Mr. *Drummond*, and not for the *minister's* poor, distressed *cousin*, and namesake, at *Rome*. The governor of the bank, *Robert Marsh*, Esq; had 150,000*l.* to keep the gentlemen there in good humour; and, to preserve his own good humour, 50,000*l.*

deponent therefore declared to and gave out among his acquaintance that he intended to offer a list of subscriptions to the lords commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury on account of the said loan to the amount of one million or thereabouts and thereupon this deponent received from many persons as well those of his acquaintance as many others, who this deponent knew only by reputation and character as responsible persons letters offering the sums which they were respectively willing to subscribe and which they desired to be included in this deponent's list and this deponent did accordingly insert in his said list indiscriminately the names of all the persons who so desired to become subscribers in this deponent's said list (they being all persons who in this deponent's judgment were able and responsible persons) and the respective sums which they severally desired to have inserted and were desirous of subscribing were accordingly inserted in their respective names in the said list and no person who desired to have any part of the said subscription was omitted or left out of this deponent's said list in regard this deponent looked on the said loan in the nature of a public subscription and as what was likely to be a real service and benefit to the public and this deponent saith that in or about the month of January last and long before the terms of the said loan were known and before it could be possibly known whether the terms thereof would prove advantageous

Lewis Way, Esq; sub-governor of the *South-Sea*, had the same sum, for the same purpose. Such *douceurs* were given to such persons, when gentlemen of the first monied property in the kingdom, who had subscribed the largest sums in all the exigencies of government, during the two last wars, and who were of known affection to the *Brunswic* line, were refused any share. The reason given to several, was, *you*

to the subscribers or not this deponent delivered in his said list for the consideration of the lords commissioners of the treasury and that in the said list so delivered in amounting to one million and twenty-four thousand pounds or thereabouts were included the names of all and every person who had wrote to this deponent desiring to be included in this deponent's list with the sums by them desired to be subscribed whether they were of this deponent's acquaintance or strangers (as many of them in fact were to this deponent, except by character as to their abilities) in order to their being eventually admitted as sharers of the said loan. And this deponent saith that above four-fifths of the sum of two hundred thousand pounds being the sum allowed to this deponent on account of the said list so delivered in and offered to be subscribed by this deponent as aforesaid was divided among the several persons who had made such applications to this deponent as aforesaid and in which this deponent had no interest, or share or profit whatsoever and that there was not any one person who had wrote to this deponent to be in this deponent's list who had less than one fifth of the sum which he so wrote for except only one person who had wrote to subscribe twelve thousand pounds and had two thousand pounds only of the loan to make it an even sum and this deponent saith that the assertions contained in the said two printed papers herein before-mentioned and described that is to say

are no friends of the minister. The minister has declared that he had actually a tender of above seventeen millions *only* from the city. The public will judge from this how impossible it was to carry on the war even another year.

This enormous sum of 350,000*l.* ought to have been saved to the public. It undoubtedly might have been, if a fair bargain had been made by honest and intelligent stewards of the public, free from any disposition, or at least any resolution, to *buy* friends in so shameful a way with the nation's money. The sum is very near one shilling in the pound of the land-tax, which the *zealous, fond, believing, obsequious, confiding, supporting, acquiescing, bearing and forbearing* country gentlemen ought, among

the said paper called the North Briton that a sum of three hundred and fifty thousand pounds and in the said book called the Political Controversy that the sum of fifty thousand pounds was given in such manner as in the said papers mentioned which was levied upon the public, is according to this deponent's judgment and best of his belief a false and unjust misrepresentation inasmuch as it was in this deponent's opinion and judgment uncertain at the time of this deponent's delivering in his said list as aforesaid whether the agreement for the public loan would or would not be attended with benefit to the subscribers and there was not in this deponent's judgment any probability that the subscribers to the same would derive any large considerable or unreasonable benefit from it nor was the agreement itself in this deponent's opinion unfair or inequitable or inadequate to the risk run.

their stipulations with the minister, to have saved the nation. The public would then have had one obligation to their ministerial zeal, and some amends made for their scandalous prostitution. Had there been the least attention to *æconomy*, we see this saving might have been made. If the shilling in the pound had not been taken off the land, the odious tax on *cyder*, in its present oppressive mode, would have been totally unnecessary : but the *excise laws* seem to be the favourite laws of the new minister ; and * *his chancellor of the exchequer* declared with a perspicuity, of which only that one head was capable, *that he was not for an EXTENSION of the excise laws, but for an ENLARGEMENT of them.* If there can be any meaning couched in such barbarism, it should seem that the hydra of excise is now to reach, where its cruel fangs never did before. After the monster of excise had been so long kept tame, this *chancellor of the exchequer*, I should imagine, is ordered to *enlarge* his claws, and then another is to come to *extend* his accursed dominion through the land. Yet (not to deviate from his happy *patavinity*) *all the whole total is any thing for peace and quietness sake ; and at this time we must be content to take the thing rough as it runs.*

* Sir Francis Dashwood, Bart.

I desire likewise to state the case of the lotteries, and of the gross impositions on the public by that part of the late bargain. Lotteries have always been objected to as promoting the spirit of gaming, so peculiarly pernicious to a commercial country. The necessities of government, during the two late wars, forced this measure: I mean of a lottery; but this year, the year of peace, we are to have *two* lotteries. To make this scheme as chargeable as possible to the public, and creative of more jobs, as well as longer to keep up the spirit of gaming, the *two* lotteries are to be drawn at *two* different times of the year. A minister who had really any love of *æconomy*, would have made the tickets duplicates of each other, and have saved one half of the expence to the public. The earl of Bute chuses to parade about *æconomy*, at the very time he is practising the most unjustifiable profusion. In former years, the interest on the lottery annuities commenced a year after the bringing in the scheme, and was only three *per cent*. In this frugal *Scottish* administration, it commences almost with the first payment, and is four *per cent*. We must observe how very unnecessarily, and even wantonly, this was done; for experience convinces us how little attention is paid by the
pur-

purchasers of lottery tickets, to the rate of interest accruing on them.

The creditors of the public for navy, transport, victualling, and ordnance services, have at least as much merit with the nation, (whom they trusted without the security of a fund, in dangerous times) and as strict a right to justice, as the new creditors of this loan advanced in days of peace. To the former the minister has thought it just to give a bare four *per cent.* redeemable at pleasure, to commence from next Lady-day. To the *meritorious* subscribers to the loan, interest commences upon the whole from the first payment, together with two lottery tickets for every 100*l.* which are now selling at the advanced price of 9*l.* clear gain. I wish to know by what scale of equity the merits of these two sets of the public creditors have been weighed. Is it in the same *Scottish balance*, by which *evacuation* only was to be the lot of one ally, and *restitution* of all the rest? How exactly parallel to our *foreign honour* is our *domestic justice*!

An *open* subscription has ever been deemed the fairest and most *æconomical* method of borrowing money for the public. In times of war, and public distress, government, for greater security, has been obliged to have recourse to the other more confined mode, the

sub

subject to partiality and influence. In these days of peace and affluence, is there a man who doubts that an *open subscription* would have been filled as soon as made public, even with an overflowing of millions? But in this case, the hungry harpies of the minister had not feasted on the vitals of their country.

In former subscriptions, even during a war, and a certainty of it's continuance, an *English* first commissioner of the treasury has always thought about one *per cent.* a sufficient profit, when so large a sum as twelve millions has been raised on the public. *His* friends always rested satisfied with that expectation. Under the *Scotfman*, a set of hungry, avaricious, rapacious dependants have, with the certainty of a peace, and the sum of three millions and a half *only* to be raised, made above eleven *per cent.* of the public. I speak of those who have already sold other things, besides their subscriptions.

For the future, whenever I hear of *Scottish æconomy*, I shall conclude, that in private and household concerns it means *sordidness*; in public matters, *profusion, corruption, and extravagance.*

In this manner is the nation insulted by the falsest pretences to *æconomy*, and her wealth squan-

204 THE NORTH BRITON. No. 43.
squandered among the tools of an insolent, all-grasping minister.

Gracious and best of princes, knowest thou this!

Numb. XLIII. Saturday, March 26,
1763.

Vestigal esse impositum fructibus nostris dicitur, et pecuniam permagnam ratione istâ cogi potuisse confiteor et invidiam.

Cic.

A duty is imposed upon our very apples, and I confess that great sums of money may be raised by the tax, as well as great murmurings.

I AM not surprized at the general alarm, which has spread not only through the capital, but likewise through the whole kingdom, from a well-grounded terror of the fatal consequences so justly to be apprehended from the new tax on *cyder*. This *odious* and *partial* tax is likewise to be enforced in the most *odious* and *partial* manner possible, by an extension of the laws of *excise*. The very word is hateful to an *English* ear, and the new doctrines introduced by that most grievous system of laws have, in a good measure, repealed the most favourite law of our constitution, which has

ever

ever been considered as the birthright of an *Englishman*, and the sacred *palladium* of liberty; I mean the trial by JURY. In every case of property, where the *excise* is interested, the decision is not by a JURY, where the party has a right to object to any one or more of *twelve* partial or prejudiced men, but in *one* or *two* justices, or *commissioners*, who may have private, selfish views, and from whom generally there is no appeal. By the mode of the tax on *cyder*, not only professed dealers in that commodity, but many new orders of men become subject to the laws of *excise*, and an insolent *exciseman*, under the influence, perhaps by the order, of an insolent minister, may force his way into the house of any private gentleman, or farmer or freeholder, who has been guilty of voting contrary to a ministerial mandate, and of obliging a friend with part of the growth of his own orchard. Even for what is used in his own family, a *poll-tax* of five shillings *per* head is to be paid, by all persons of the family under *nine* years of age. I am glad the limitation is confined, by this merciful and forbearing ministry, to that tender age, because I think *master* (I beg his pardon, *captain*) *Elliot*, at *ten* years of age, with such a commission in his pocket, ought to pay himself, or, at least, be paid for by his *papa*,
(I beg

(I beg pardon again, I mean his father) Mr. *Gilbert Elliot*, out of the *half-pay*, which HE receives, in these days of *æconomy*, for the eminent services performed to the public by the *little master*. I am satisfied even that proud *Scot*, who has here learnt to talk such very *courtly language* *, would not utter one word against the *actual* payment of a fair share of such a tax, imposed by the advice and influence of his *countryman*, chiefly on a few rich *English* counties. I am sure he ought to be satisfied with his good fortune, for he has the *treasury of the chamber* in *England*, which is a present income of near 3,000*l. per annum*, and reversion of a most useless office, *keeper of the signet in Scotland*, a place for life, of 1,700*l. per annum*, for himself, and his deputy (I suppose the said *infant captain*) receives 300*l. per annum* more, I do not mean *Scottish*, but *English* pounds.

The partiality of the tax on *cyder* has been no less blamed than the odious mode of collecting it; but the most cogent objection with the disinterested part of mankind goes still deeper for the enormous profit made by the subscribers to the new loan proves, that the tax was so far *unnecessary*. The proprietors, who have

* This alludes to a favourite expression of Mr. Gilbert Elliot's in a great assembly.

been gratified with it, exult at so immense and so secure a plunder of the nation, while the candid and unbiaſſed part of mankind ſtand aſtoniſhed at the effrontery of the miniſter through this whole tranſaction. The *bargain* is the moſt ſcandalous ever made for the public. It has been attempted to be excuſed from the uncertainty of the negotiations with *France*, and the difficulties which aroſe between the two courts even after the *preliminaries* were ſigned. Mr. *Fox* himſelf fully answered this; for in a great *aſſembly*, he affirmed, that the bargain was made on the eighteenth of *February*, and that it was known here before that time, that the *definitive treaty* was actually ſigned on the tenth. In a very ſmall *aſſembly* he alſo aſſerted, that a bargain ſtill more infamouſly injurious to the public, had been concluded by the miniſter on that very day, the eighteenth, and as infamouſly on his part receded from on the twentieth, and finally ſettled on the preſent ſcandalous terms on the twenty-second. What muſt the terms of the eighteenth have been, that even ſuch a miniſter was not only ſhamed, but afraid to keep? I am ſure, I may aſſert this little anecdote, as coming from Mr. *Fox* himſelf, and this without the leaſt ſuſpicion of new invented, Newfoundland For-
 ray. The *Baſhaw* has the obligation to his
 real

real friend and (in *Scotland* phrase) his *doer*, Mr. Fox, of the public detection of this infamous scene. This bargain was not laid before parliament till the seventh of *March*. It would have been very extraordinary in any other board of *treasury* to have concluded the bargain so long before, because it neither can, nor ought to be considered in any other light, than as a bargain made at the very time of the application to parliament. Infinite imposition and abuse might otherwise follow. The settled method has been to develop the whole business, and to compare the proposal of the day with the general price of stocks at that time. All former chancellors of the exchequer (*who have not been ASHAMED to know something of their business* *,) have invariably pursued this rule. The navy, victualling, and transport services, on the seventh of *February*, (three days before the *definitive treaty* was signed) were charged on the sinking fund at four *per cent.* and they appear to have been sold at half *per cent.* discount. The new loan at four *per cent.* exclusive of the lottery ticket is two *per cent.* more advantageous than the allowance to the former creditors of the public: for a profit of two *per cent.* is given to

* A remarkable expression of Sir Francis Dashwood's.

every subscriber on account of prompt payment, who chuses to make it. This gives a profit of one and a half on every 100*l.* of the four *per cent* redeemable, and in effect it actually sells at little less than 103*l.* without any material change of circumstance.

I think it is now made clear to a demonstration, that the prime minister ought not to have given above a bare four *per cent*. redeemable for the 3,500,000*l.* lent to the public. The profit infallibly to be made on the lottery tickets, could not, in estimation, fall much short of 9*l.* for the two tickets, given with every 100*l.* Government, till it fell into the hands of the present most incapable minister, has ever availed itself of this profit, in favour of the public, and credit has ever been taken for it in the bargain made with the subscribers. The unexampled paucity of the tickets, no more than 35,000 in each lottery, and the great probability that this kind of gaming will end this auspicious year (till the rottenness of the *peace* brings us into new difficulties, perhaps, speedily to end in a new war) advanced the price of them so high, that their present rise cannot surprise any man, whose attention has been turned to matters of this nature, founded on comparative experience. It cannot therefore be deemed an accidental,

or problematical rise, but was certain and inevitable.

The mismanagement of the finances of this kingdom must give the deepest concern to every thinking man, who really loves his country. Such a man cannot but ask the question, whether the late infamous job was the consequence of incapacity or villainy, or a mixture of both? Let it be either, it has ended in a manner equally fatal to the public, thus defrauded of so large a sum. The *sinking fund* which has had the epithet of *sacred* peculiarly applied to it, is so wantonly clogged, and groans under so many anticipations, that, it is confessed, it will not produce any thing to the public for above seven years. This prospect into futurity is still more clouded by the declarations made very publicly, by those who have the power to carry them into execution, that another tax, probably on the same odious line of *excise*, is, *in the next year* at least, to be laid upon the public, in addition to a land-tax still to be continued at four shillings in the pound. This declaration exactly tallies with every other act of that *low cunning* which characterises the minister; for it holds out to his creatures the blessed *second sight* of more plunder of the nation, if the hounds continue to follow their former feeder. Thus is the

minister

minister, as well as these robbers of the public, driven to the commission of a second crime, to secure impunity of the first.

This first essay of the *Scot* in the business of our treasury is, indeed, by the hand of a *master*; but of what kind? Surely of a most corrupt and profuse *master*, who must be totally ignorant of our finances, or at least *very* lately have acquired any practical knowledge of *money matters*, unless in the receipt of a small annual *pension*, obtained with difficulty from the duke of *Newcastle* for his faithful services, and steady vote in a former parliament. In either case, he ought not, at so critical a moment, boldly to have assumed the sole administration of so important a department, where *his own* incapacity, and *his chancellor's* ignorance, are the hourly ridicule even of the youngest, most dependent clerk in the treasury. The tax on *cyder* has for many days covered *them both* with public contempt and derision. If it receives the sanction of the legislature, according to the mode of *excise* proposed, or rather imposed by the minion, I will venture to assert, that he will soon be *deservedly* as unpopular and as much detested in every county in *England*, as Mr. *Bamber Gascoigne* is very *undeservedly* in *Lancashire*. His gentle and gentleman-like manners, his candour

dour, urbanity and sweetness of temper, his politeness and high breeding, soar even beyond his patrons, and ought to conciliate mankind to the minister as well as to himself. I hope too they will for ever obliterate the odious name of BUTCHER *Gascoyne*, by which all his cotemporaries at *Oxford*, in so uncourtly a way, still persist to mark him.

The whole progress of the tax on *cyder* has shewn to mankind, that nothing could have equalled the impudent pretence the minister has made to superior ability and *æconomy*, but his ignorance, fraud, and profusion, to a degree scarcely to be credited, but on the notorious evidence of *facts*. I chuse to argue from *facts*, because my Lord-Mayor is so fond of travelling the high *priori* road. That acute reasoner and sound scholar has more than once assured us, that he always will argue *à priori*, from *facts*, *à priori*, I say. *Why do gentlemen laugh? I argue from the stubborn evidence of facts, Sir. Arguments drawn from facts, à priori, Sir, cannot be resisted. That gravels gentlemen. I see they feel me*, &c. &c. &c.*

I shall conclude my ideas of the *Scottish* administration of *our* finances with an old obser-

* This noble specimen of Creolian oratory was lately given to a great assembly of Whites.

vation of *Swift*. I could point out some *SCOTS* with great titles, whose whole revenues before the Union would have ill maintained a Welch justice of the peace, and have since gathered more than ever any Scotsman, who had not travelled, could form an idea of.

Numb. XLIV. Saturday, April 2, 1763.

Pulchrâ pro libertate.

VIRG.

For beauteous liberty.

THE restless and turbulent disposition of the *Scottish* nation before the union, with their constant attachment to *France* and declared enmity to *England*, their repeated perfidies and rebellions since that period, with their servile behaviour in times of need, and overbearing insolence in power, have justly rendered the very name of *Scot* hateful to every true *Englishman*. The mean arts by which the present minister acquired his power, and his conduct since the acquisition of it; the long and dark scenes of dissimulation which he ran through for the sake of greatness, with the open and insolent outrages he hath committed,

mitted, since his accession to it, against men much better than himself; the little capacity which he hath shewn for business; the inglorious peace which he hath infamously patched up, and whereby he hath sacrificed the glory and interests of this country to his own private ambition; his contempt of the *English* nobles, especially of those who are the known and tried friends of the constitution, and his strict union with those who are the avowed enemies of it; his mean and implacable resentments in turning out and reducing to poverty whole families, the honesty of whose patrons was their only crime; his gross partiality to his own *beggarly* countrymen; his virulence against all who will not slavishly comply with his destructive measures; his associating with a man justly odious to every party, from whose influence this country hath every thing to fear, and *who having been false to all, ought to be trusted by none*; these things laid together have rendered the minister justly suspected by the people, and have, *if possible*, made the name of *Stuart* more odious and contemptible than was before. The very great and excessive complaisance of the associates in power, if he will suffer them to be called associates, whom he never suffers to act as such, in embracing pernicious doctrines, and falling in implicitly

will

with his fatal measures, their joining to give up in peace, what we had gained in war, their taking such steps as not only partially affect the property, but strike deeply at the liberty of the subject, have weaned the affections of the people from those few members in the administration in whom they had reposed some little confidence, and encreased their suspicions with regard to those whose former behaviour had not entitled them to any confidence at all. Under these circumstances, we cannot be surprised that the spirit of discord should go forth in the land, and the voice of opposition be strong in the streets; but what we cannot help admiring is the modesty and veracity of those tools of power, who would persuade us that the body of the people are perfectly satisfied, and that all reports of public discontent are made and spread abroad by the venal emissaries of a disappointed faction. They do not scruple to assure us, that the earl of BUTE is the darling of the nation, and as much approved in the quality of a minister, as his Royal master is beloved and revered as a king. They would represent to us those respectable personages, who oppose the minister, as influenced by envy, interest, and other selfish motives, and not at all actuated by a love of their king and country; nay, they have ventured to

proceed one step farther, and openly condemn all opposition, on whatever principles it is taken up, as criminal in itself. A doctrine which we could scarce have expected to hear in *England*, (I hope it is not treason to make use of that word) at this time of day, or which we never could have imagined should have passed without rebuke. Not long since a divine* of the church of *England*, remarkable only for reading lectures which no one went to hear, publicly maintained from the pulpit, that to resist the minister was to resist the king; to resist the king was to resist God, and that the consequence of such resistance must be damnation. Let me not, however, be thought to insinuate, that this reverend adventurer in politics acted at all by the command of the one great man, however agreeable the doctrine might sound in his ears. He certainly would never have employed this young *Sacheverel*, when so many dignitaries were at his devotion, and all those grateful churchmen, who fled from the shipwreck, as they deemed it, of old *Newcastle*, must have stood ready at their idol's command, to preach up the traditions of men for the laws of God. But amongst all the advocates of despotism, the notorious *Paul*

* This stupid divine was one *Trusler*.

Whitehead is the most remarkable. Little could we have expected to have seen his name in the black list. What? He, who was ever a licentious assertor of privileges, whose tongue was loudest in every mob to resound their rights, and to vindicate the liberty of the press, who treated nobles with impunity, and trampled on the sacred honour of crowns; whose unbounded boldness brought him into such extremities, that he may relate, which he hath often related, his *ear-breadth escapes*; shall he become a defender of the base, infamous doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance? Shall he brand with the name of faction those men whom every honest Englishman considers as his dearest friends? Can he, who was enlisted under the banners of a *staunch Republican*, thus weakly change his opinion, and thus impudently declare it, merely because the dull patron is ridiculously renegadoed into a *court Jacobite*? Is this to be accounted for?

Græculus esuriens, ad cælum, jussuris, ibit.

JUV.

"And bid him go to hell, to hell he goes."

Pensioner JOHNSON.

In spite, however, of all that can be said by private men, and threatened by those in a public

lic station, I can answer for myself, and hope I may for others, that the liberty of communicating our sentiments to the public freely and honestly, shall not be tamely given up; nor, I trust, forced out of their hands. I am not yet so perfect in the court creed, as to believe they have any right to do it; and if they know their own interest, I am certain they will not attempt it. The ridiculous figure which they made in the apprehension of those persons concerned in the MONITOR hath opened their eyes, and tainted their rashness with some wholesome degree of fear. Inclination there is, no doubt, to silence the NORTH BRITON, but

consciousness of guilt prevents its being carried into execution; and however they may deal out large promises, and thunder forth empty threats, that impudent libeller, as they are pleased to call, but cannot, or dare not prove him, shall still pursue the path in which he hath hitherto trod; and whilst he finds the opposition, which is now gathering over the minister's head, composed of those men who are zealous for our constitution, and lovers of their country, no means whatsoever shall be effectual to warp him from so great, so good, so necessary a cause. Whatsoever opinion slaves may entertain, they shall as soon persuade a free-born *Englishman* to call the spirited opposition of the present

present earl of *Bath*, when Mr. *Pulteney*, the glorious efforts of those true patriots who expelled the cursed race of *Stuart*, and the vigorous struggles of those barons to whom we owe *Magna Charta*, by a disgraceful name, as the animated advances which are now making against the influence of the proud *Scot*, under the conduct of men whose names shall descend to posterity, and stand in the roll of honour with the first patriots.

When the opposition to the minister is the subject of conversation, it is remarkable to observe how men, who are in their hearts well-wishers to it, but have not spirit to speak out, retire back into themselves, how cautiously they hint their love of their country, as if it was a fault, and how sparingly they praise those who openly avow themselves the defenders of it. These men may love their country much, but they love themselves more. Public considerations have some share in their hearts, but no farther than as they fall in with their private views—Self is their grand object, and their country comes in, only by the bye, and in a subordinate degree. They wish England well, but that is all—they will not advance one step, nor run the least risque to promote her welfare. Her situation may call for vigorous measures—but they beg to be excused—

cused—they chuse to wait—nor can come to any resolution till the event shall give them an opportunity of joining the strongest party. Whatever consequence such fluctuating spirits may maintain in troubled times, sure I am, that in a quiet and settled state, they ought to be treated with the utmost contempt. When a country is divided, neutrality is little better than treason; an honest man may, thro' mistake, take the worst side; but he cannot be an honest man who refuses to take any. The timorous disposition of these lukewarm patriots is at present inexcusable, as the opposition to *Scottish* influence is founded on those principles which ought to make every Englishman a party in it, and conducted by those men, whom long and repeated services have taught us to honour. Whatever face the credit of the minister might wear some time since, and however his slaves might boast the strength of their chains, observation may convince us that his power is now in the wain, and that storm is gathering over him which must involve him in disgrace. However the name of *England* may be lost, the spirit still remains nor would the NORTH BRITON for a moment believe, even at that time when there was no ground to believe it than he could have wished

that an upstart *Scot* should lord it uncontrouled over such a nation as this, or that the *Whigs*, those old and true friends of king and people, should tamely sit down, and suffer the hellish designs of *Tories* to be carried into execution without resistance.

The minister himself seems conscious of his decline; his fears appear in spite of his pride; he is meanly endeavouring to break the force of the opposition by disuniting the members of it, and employs his paultry emissaries for that purpose. But should he unhappily succeed in that attempt, it cannot establish his power, though it may prolong it; the *English* are a people who will not suffer their rights to be trampled on for any length of time, and whose just resentments have ever been successful against favourites and aliens. They will no more suffer the person who hath injured and oppressed them to skulk out of power without calling him to account, than they will tamely bear his oppressions whilst in authority. A minister is the servant of the public, and accountable to them. Our constitution is so happily tempered, that it is not in the power of a sovereign to secure a bad minister, and of this we may be certain that it can never be in the inclination of the best of sovereigns to protect the worst

worst of ministers. The earl of *Strafford* is an example on record, which our great man would do well to consider, and tremble. How soon this desired change may be brought to bear we cannot pretend, though blest with the gift of second sight, to ascertain; this, however, we may venture to declare, that it cannot be far distant. The jarring principles of those who compose the administration, and the impossibility of their blending with each other, so as to give and receive strength at the same time, made it probable from the first, that their union could not be of long continuance, and the noble spirit which hath been of late exerted against the minister by those honest men, who love both king and country, gives us a pleasing prospect of being speedily restored to harmony amongst ourselves. Nothing is necessary but resolution and perseverance, and these, I am convinced, cannot be wanting, when I consider the persons from whom we expect our deliverance.

As it may be convenient to many persons on various accounts to give as near a guess as possible when this ministerial revolution will take place, I shall give them a hint which may perhaps assist their conjectures, and propose Mr. *Fox* as a mark of observation to all who
trade

trade in politics. His steadiness to his own interest, with his remarkable talents of penetration, have hitherto enabled, and I doubt not will still induce him to quit his post when he can keep it no longer, and to leave his friends in the lurch. When we see him therefore, *flying from the storm*, pleading age and sickness, *accepting of a peerage* *, or retiring to the government of the alley, we may safely conclude that a change is at hand, and that concord shall once more take place among us.

JOHN EARL OF BUTE RESIGNED ON THE FRIDAY FOLLOWING.

John Earl of BUTE was made first Commissioner of the Treasury, May 29, 1762.

On the same day the first number of the BRITON was published.

The first number of the AUDITOR was published June 10, 1762.

* Mr. Fox was created Lord Holland on the 16th of April 1763, and soon after went to France.

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The last number of the AUDITOR was published February 8, 1763.

The last number of the BRITON was published February 12, 1763.

Lord BUTE resigned April 8, 1763.

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THE NORTH BRITON.

17225-
232
misprinted.

A NORTH BRITON Extraordinary,

Which was printed, but never published.

Dicere verum

Quid vetat ?

To say the Truth

What laws forbid ?

THURSDAY, APRIL 7, 1763.

Whatever difference we may find in other respects between the present and late minister, in the exertion of a determined and inflexible resolution, they certainly bear a near resemblance to each other. One distinction, indeed, ought to be made even here, that Mr. Pitt's resolution arose from conscious virtue, and the Earl of Bute's from conscious power ; but, to the credit of the latter we must observe, that he hath shewn as inflexible a spirit in supporting every measure which was wrong, as the former could possibly maintain in promoting what was right. Regardless of all petty and private considerations, blessed with the most excellent qualities of head and heart, and

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sincerely

letter, mentioned above, was transmitted to Lord Egremont, in consequence of a conversation which had passed between Mr. Sullivan and his Lordship, in which his Lordship had been made acquainted with the contents of that letter, and had desired to see a copy of it.

On the 22d of June, Mr. Dorrien and Mr. Sullivan had a conversation with Lord Egremont, in which his Lordship observed, on the letter to Mr. Pitt, that it conveyed the outlines of a plan of pacification; but he should be glad, in the most distinct manner, to know the company's expectations, and particularly if they were ready, in return for excluding the French from Bengal, to give them back all their other comptoirs; to which he was answered, that the chairman and deputies would obtain powers from the court of directors for the transaction of this affair; which method his Lordship seemed to approve; but when he was reminded, on desiring that their sentiments might be delivered at large in writing, that the French should be the first proposed, he declared, that the company should not be made acquainted with the propositions made to the French, though before the whole was concluded, the gentlemen in the direction should know their objections.

The gentlemen were repeatedly asked, by Lord Egremont, if the company would be satisfied with excluding the French from Bengal (which, his Lordship said, he believed they would not submit to) and granting them all their factories and former possessions on the Comorandel coast? To this, answer was made, That it was meant the French should, in that case, possess all which they had possessed before the year 1745, but no grant whatsoever since that period; and that they also meant to exclude the donations to M. Dupleix and others. They likewise expressed their wishes, that both companies might be prevented from making war with each other; or, at least, that the French might be limited to a certain number of troops: the first of which his Lordship declared to be impossible; and the latter to be such an indignity as no nation would bear.

On the 24th of June, the chairman, deputy, and Mr. Sullivan, in consequence of the preceding day's conversation, agreed on the outlines of a plan to be drawn up, as the private sentiments of those three gentlemen, which the chairman was desired to communicate to Lord Egremont.

On the 25th of June, Lord Egremont received this paper from the chairman, and said

his misdemeanor as so gross and palpable, that they would not even hear him; that, when called upon, they would not enter into the affair, would not give him an opportunity of explaining his conduct, but forced a friend of that gentleman's to move for his being called to an account at a general court, as one guilty of misconduct, merely to give him an opportunity of proving to the public, that his conduct had been fair and irreproachable. This I could never have believed without proof, though, at the meeting, the proof was too strong to admit of the least exception. Mr. Rous defended himself in such a manner as to turn the shame, intended for him, on his adversaries; he proved his behaviour not only to have been undeserving of reproach, but even worthy of approbation, and the result of the affair was exactly what every candid man would have wished, what his friends expected, what his enemies feared, but what a stranger, as I was, could never have suspected. As I considered this affair as of the greatest consequence to the future welfare of the company, I was particularly attentive to every thing which passed. I took down the substance of Mr. Rous's defence for my own use, which I now transmit to you for the satisfaction of the public, and of which you are at liberty to make what remarks

you think proper, or to leave every reader to make his own. You will observe I have taken this affair merely as it was considered, immediately relative to Mr. Rous, and as the affairs of the company were naturally interwoven with his justification; but should be glad if you will in your remarks bring it down to the present time.

The two grand objects of the company, even from the time of commencing the negotiation, under Mr. Pitt's administration, have constantly been :

1. A total exclusion of the French from Bengal, where the company enjoy extensive and valuable possessions, and from whence they derive their most profitable trade.

2. In the restitution of French territories, to fix such a period as would leave them nothing more than places of trade, without a single acquisition of territory by conquest or grant from the country powers, and it was found that the year 1744 or 1745 would effectually answer this purpose.

These views of the company were communicated to Mr. Pitt, in a letter from the chairman, dated the 27th of July 1761, and at that time France acquiesced in what was then proposed.

On the 4th of June, 1762, a copy of the letter,

sincerely attached to the interests of his country, Mr. Pitt proceeded with that well-grounded confidence, to which he was intitled by those qualifications, and in which he was justified by the most extraordinary success. Without any real regard to this country, wholly engrossed by private views, the qualities of his head as yet doubtful, and those of his heart too plain, the Earl of Bute hath, through his administration, behaved with that insolence, which in narrow minds is always the consequence of power. When I mention insolence, I would be supposed to include meanness; for they always are to be found in the same place: and however different they may appear, wait only for a difference of circumstances to call them forth, and to prove them inseparable. In both these virtues, I apprehend, the present minister stands unrivalled, and the infection seems to spread through all his coadjutors. Numberless instances might be produced to justify this remark; but no one is more proper, and better calculated to shew both these excellent qualities operating at one time, and on the same subject, than the treatment which our East-India Company in general, and Mr. Rous, a very worthy member of it in particular, have met with. However triflingly this affair may have been talked of, it is, in reality,
of

of very serious and general consequence. At this time especially, when their election is drawing nigh, it is highly necessary that a clear and full account of that affair, with the real merits of the case, should be laid before the public; for putting it in our power to perform which, we are greatly indebted to the correspondent who hath favoured us with the following letter:

TO THE NORTH BRITON.

SIR,

AS a proprietor, I thought it not only my interest, but my duty, to attend the general court, when the conduct of Mr. Rous was to be examined. I cannot deny but, from the reports which were spread abroad, I was greatly prejudiced against that gentleman, and flattered myself with some degree of merit, if I could be instrumental in giving him up to public censure, which I had been taught to think he had deserved. For certainly, Sir, I could never be justified in supposing him innocent, however boldly he might stand on his defence, when the honour and uprightness of the minister was engaged to prove him guilty; and when a court of directors had considered

it was sufficient for his private information; but at the same time said, he apprehended the French would not be prevailed upon to give up the Bengal trade.

On the 9th of July, Mr. Wood, deputy secretary of state, had a meeting at the India-House, with the chairman and deputy; at which he told them, that Lord Egremont expected a very regular plan of the company's expectations to be laid before him; and they had conversation concerning India.

On the 16th of July, Mr. Wood came again to the India-House, and informed the chairman and deputy, that he had directions to lay before them his Lordship's sentiments, relative to the conversation of the 9th, in writing; which he did, by a letter delivered to them then, but dated the 9th of July, in which was contained, that Lord Egremont having been informed, by Mr. Wood, that those gentlemen understood the only matter relative to the interests of the company, as far as they become an object in future negotiation with France, to be contained in Mr. Sullivan's letter to Mr. Pitt, his Lordship considered that as the only matter lying before him from the secret committee, and that every thing else communicated, or that had passed in conversation, was not to be made use of—intimating, that it might

might not be amiss for the secret committee to be provided with the necessary powers, and to digest their thoughts relative to the interests of the company, so far as they might become an object of consideration for his Majesty's ministers, when the two crowns should come to treat of those affairs.

On the 21st of July, agreeable to what had been settled by the secretary of state, the secret committee (consisting of the chairman, deputy, Mr. Gough, and Mr. Tullie) were employed at a court of directors, to form a plan for the benefit of the company, to be laid before the ministry, and were also empowered to call in the assistance of any other person, and to report.

Soon after the secret committee met, with Mr. Hume and Mr. Sullivan, when those gentlemen desired time to give their thoughts in writing.

On the 12th of August, those two gentlemen produced their sentiments in writing; but Lord Clive, who was then present, not having been prepared, gave his opinion only in discourse.

At those, and other consultations, Mr. Sullivan strongly recommended the giving back to the Indian powers the territories adjacent to Masulapatnam, and to make Masulapatnam a neu-

to Lord Egremont's order, the above-mentioned paper, and that he should be glad to put it into the chairman's or deputy's hands, and explain why it was of no use, concluding with these remarkable words—*his Lordship not chusing to meddle where he may do harm, or where it is put out of his power to do good.*

In a subsequent conversation between Mr. Wood and Mr. Dorrien, on the 20th of October, Mr. Wood declared he had orders from Lord Egremont to say, that—"as this was the first time the government had taken upon themselves to make a peace for the East-India company, he expected they would have acted with candour and openness to him; but as he found they had only a mind to throw off a weight from their own shoulders and burthen his Lordship with it, he was determined not to submit to such usage, as it was no part of his duty to settle a peace for the company, but had only offered it in regard to them, and that the proposals first delivered were such as he should have been ashamed to offer to the French ministry. That the supplement being delivered so long as twenty-six days after the first memorial, Lord Egremont did not think proper to regard it: had both come together, the plan might have been reasonable." He added, "that it had in the general preliminaries been
pro-

proposed to France to restore her comptoirs or factories on the coast of Malabar and Coromandel, as also in Bengal, and a trade allowed them up the Ganges, but that they should raise no fortifications at the latter place, nor be suffered to have any armed force there: this they had agreed to, but with their usual artifice, in saying, all their possessions, instead of their comptoirs, should be restored; which word having a great latitude, he, Mr. Wood, advised Lord Egremont by no means to admit of.—That the above memorial being delivered in the interim, his Lordship had dropt making any reply, and there the affair rested; but that his Lordship had entrusted him, in case he met with any gentleman in the direction he thought proper to open it to, to say, that notwithstanding he had declined taking any thing upon himself, yet, if the company would prepare one general article to be inserted in the preliminaries, his Lordship would try to serve them.”—After some discourse, Mr. Wood himself drew up the following article, which the deputy chairman desired he might lay before the secret committee, as he could not, without their consent, venture to agree to any thing of himself.

“ All the comptoirs taken in India, either by the French or English, to be restored. The
French

company, as a part of the whole, not to lose sight of the latter great object for any partial considerations. Mr. Wood's private opinion—that should the secretary of state find it impossible to keep up to the sentiments of the secret committee, with regard to what is to be insisted upon, the company would find it full as difficult to succeed in a negotiation, which they seem desirous of managing themselves.

On the 16th of September the chairman waited on Lord Egremont, in order to obtain an explanation of Mr. Wood's letter of the 11th. His Lordship expressed great displeasure in regard to the sentiments of the secret committee, which had been transmitted to him; and when he was assured by the chairman of the disposition of the directors to do every thing in their power to facilitate an accommodation with France, and was entreated to point out in what manner the directors might be able to promote that good purpose—His Lordship—declined giving any answer. But although his Lordship was backward in declaring his sentiments, his secretary was not at all so; and very freely and without reserve charged the chairman with chicanery and dealing uncandidly with the government.

Thus treated without doors, and beset (to say no more) within, the secret committee began

gan seriously to consider what might be the consequence of the company's being deserted by the ministry in the negotiations of peace. They considered of alterations and new propositions, which might be more favourably received by the ministry, and resolved once more to take the opinion of the court of directors upon the point of giving up to the country powers the revenues of Masulapatnam, notwithstanding the resolutions of the two former courts. By this time the court of directors took the alarm, they saw to what a precarious situation the company would be reduced if they were not included in the peace, and therefore in hopes of obviating all farther difficulties, they determined, though by a very small majority, to agree to a paper laid before them on the 22d of September, for restoring these revenues and territories to the country powers. This paper was left by Mr. Dorian at Lord Egremont's office, on the 30th, under the title of, *The farther sentiments of the secret committee, submitted to the ministry, being a supplement to their sentiments of the 4th.*

The first notice taken of this paper of the 29th of September, was in a letter to Mr. Dorian from Mr. Wood, dated the 16th of October; in which he mentions that a hurry of business had prevented his returning, agreeable
to

neutral city, where each company should have a factory; but neither should be allowed to erect fortifications. This was exactly the doctrine laid down in his plan above-mentioned.

On the first of September, at a court of directors, the chairman, after communicating the proceedings of the secret committee, intimated to the court, that lest more considerable offers should be expected, the cession of the territories of Masulapatnam unto the Subah of the Deckan had been thought of, for rendering the terms of which the plan consisted more admissible to the ministry; but that the secret committee, not apprehending themselves justified in coming to any resolution in so material a point, he desired the sentiments of the court thereupon; and the court, after mature debate, unanimously agreed (excepting the deputy chairman, and another gentleman) that it was not proper to give up to the country powers the revenues of Masulapatnam, amounting to 50,000*l.* a year; and that therefore it should be no part of the plan to be laid before the government.

The above resolution was confirmed at the next court of directors.

The plan, which had been approved by the court of directors on the first of September,

was

was left by the chairman at Lord Egremont's office on the 4th. It consisted of twelve articles, submitted with the greatest humility to the consideration of the ministry, enforced with the strongest arguments, and so clearly worded, explicitly commented on, that it was impossible the ministry should not have the clearest ideas of the company's interests in India.

In consequence of delivering in this plan, a letter was received from Mr. deputy secretary Wood, dated the 11th of September, importing Lord Egremont's disappointment in not finding such lights in it, as might facilitate what he has extremely at heart, which is to procure the most advantageous terms possible for the company, when a peace shall be concluded. His disappointment in not seeing such a confidential communication of their real expectations, as he thought the government entitled to, from the support afforded to the company during the war—his observation, that if the company asked more than they expected to get, they not only laid a very useless load on the secretary of state, who was disposed to get even more than they asked, was it possible, but also confined and clogged the best intentions in their favour—his declaration—notwithstanding his sincere regard to the
com-

French and English to have nothing more than factories at Masulapatnam : the town, and its dependencies, to be restored to the Nabob; an hundred soldiers to be kept, if thought proper, by each nation, for protection of trade.

“ The French, though restored to the trade of the Ganges, and to mere factories for that purpose, are to have no troops or fortifications there.”

After this, Mr. Wood declared that Lord Egremont could not meddle any farther, nor deviate in the least from the article the company should propose, and that in case they were left out by being unreasonable in their demands, the blame must fall upon themselves, and his Lordship should not postpone the public peace on their account, if the other terms could be settled : he then desired that what the company had to offer might be delivered on Friday morning, before ten o'clock, this being Wednesday ; there being a council appointed for that day, and he did not doubt but he should prevail upon Lord Egremont to receive it.

This conversation and article were taken into consideration by the secret committee, on the 21st of October, and on the 22d the chairman and deputy waited on Lord Egremont, and requested farther time, that the secret committee

mittee

mittee might consider the terms to be offered in behalf of the company, according to this (curious) article, drawn up, and delivered by Mr. Wood. His Lordship readily acquiesced with this request, and said, he would send them the article to be proposed, for their consideration, subject to such alterations as they should think proper, which should be sent to the court of France, and then the committee should be made acquainted with the result thereof, and be informed from time to time what passed on the subject.

The chairman and deputy expressed their concern in having incurred his Lordship's displeasure, by not fully answering the expectations of government, in the memorial offered by the secret committee. To which his Lordship answered, he would argue the case coolly and without resentment; but that he thought the committee were not candid in offering such terms as they could not expect the French to comply with. The chairman and deputy then entered into the views of that memorial, and represented the great danger of restoring to the French the territories they had formerly possessed in the Carnatic, as the company would thereby risque the great debt due to them from the Nabob, after having engaged in a long and expensive war, to prevent the French from

aggrandising themselves, according to Mr. Dupleix's ambitious views. That these considerations induced the company to give it as their real sentiments, that the French ought to be restored only to the state they were in on that coast before the year 1744, and confined as much as possible to a mercantile system; and at the same time to remove a subject of future dissensions, they had been induced to relinquish their own pretensions to Masulapatnam, thinking likewise that this offer might prevent any obstacle to the general peace. To which his Lordship replied, he could see no reason for such a concession, nor that it would answer any purpose; however, at least, it ought to be kept in reserve.

At eight o'clock the very same night (Friday the 22d of October) a message was sent by Mr. Wood, in writing, to the chairman, inclosing the following preliminary article, by Lord Egremont's order, and signifying at the same time that his Lordship would dispatch his messenger on the morrow night, or Sunday morning.

“ In the East-Indies England shall restore
 “ to France the several comptoirs which that
 “ crown had before the present war, on the
 “ coast of Coromandel and Malabar, as well
 “ as in Bengal; but the comptoirs in this
 “ last

“ last part of India shall not be restored, but
 “ on condition that his Most Christian Ma-
 “ jesty obliges himself not to erect any for-
 “ tification, nor entertain any troops there;
 “ and the Most Christian King engages to re-
 “ store to the King of Great-Britain, all the
 “ conquests that may have been made by
 “ the French forces over the English in the
 “ East-Indies.”

This article, thus sent down late at night, and on which no further time for deliberation was given than the next day, was laid before the secret committee about noon, on Saturday the 23d of October. It was in vain to hope for any alteration in respect to Bengal, and equally in vain to mention the year 1744 as the period of restitutions, and extremely difficult to fix a precise meaning to the word *comptoirs*, which (if it included settlements, factories and possessions) would instantly restore to France that immense extent of trade, territory and power, which nothing but Providence had prevented, after the commencement of the war, from bringing utter ruin on our company.

In this dilemma all that the secret committee could do, and more, indeed, than they could expect to succeed in, according to the present humour of the ministry, was to make

some alterations in the period of *uti possidetis* now set down to them; and with this view they came to a resolution to return the article altered as follows:

“ In the East-Indies England shall restore
 “ to France the several settlements which
 “ that crown had at the commencement of the
 “ present war between the two companies in
 “ India, viz. in 1749, on the coasts of Co-
 “ romandel and Malabar, in the condition
 “ they shall be found; and also the comptoirs
 “ they had in Bengal. But these restorations
 “ shall not be made but on condition that
 “ his Most Christian Majesty renounces all
 “ claim to subsequent acquisitions, and obliges
 “ himself not to erect any fortification, nor
 “ entertain any troops in Bengal; and the
 “ Most Christian King engages to restore to
 “ the King of Great Britain all the conquests
 “ that may have been made by the French
 “ forces over the English in the East-Indies.”

The committee also sent up, at the same time, two articles, which they entreated might be made part of the preliminaries, or be considered in the general treaty.

The first related to acknowledging the rights of the present Subah of the Deckan, and the Nabob of the Carnatic. The second, to the restoration of the Chinese families and slaves carried

carried from Bencoolen by the Count d'Estaing, and a reimbursement of the charges incurred by the English company, on account of the French prisoners of war. A letter was also approved by the committee, and signed by the chairman and deputy, in which all ambiguity of expression was carefully avoided, and the reasons of the several alterations in the preliminary articles plainly and forcibly laid down.

On Sunday the 24th of October, the chairman received a message from Mr. Wood, desiring to have some conversation with him that day, or next morning. The chairman accordingly waited on him, and was told, There having been no actual war in India between the two companies, in the year 1749, that those words, "the present war," seemed improper: it was therefore agreed, that the commencement of hostilities should be inserted in their stead, which would cure the impropriety without altering the sense of the article.

On Monday the 25th, at ten at night, the chairman received a letter at Hackney, from Mr. Wood, inclosing the article, thus altered, in point of expression only, and desired an immediate answer, whether it was agreeable to the chairman's idea, as explained the preceding day? This article being the same

as seen in the preliminary laid before the public, was returned to Mr. Wood exactly as received, with a remonstrance in his letter in favour of the country powers, which was disregarded.

This, Sir, is the substance of what Mr. Rous delivered in vindication of his conduct; and however clear and full it was then thought, and must now appear to a considering reader, who will connect and weigh the parts of it together, so as to form a true judgment of the whole; yet, as it is of some length, and of a complicated nature, I think it would not be amiss, in your next paper, to throw together some general remarks on these transactions, not only as they relate to that gentleman's justification, but as they regard the interests of the company.

I am, Sir,

Your very humble servant,

A PROPRIETOR

Numb. XLV*. Saturday, April 23, 1763.

The following Advertisement appeared in all the Papers on the 13th of April.

THE NORTH BRITON makes his appeal to the good sense, and to the candour of the ENGLISH nation. In the present unsettled and fluctuating state of the *administration*, he is really fearful of falling into involuntary errors, and he does not wish to mislead. All his reasonings have been built on the strong foundation of *facts*; and he is not yet informed of the whole interior state of government with such *minute precision*, as now to venture the submitting his crude ideas of the present political crisis to the discerning and impartial public. The SCOTTISH minister has indeed *retired*. Is HIS influence at an end? Or does HE still govern by the *three* wretched tools of his power †, who, to their

* The passages included within the inverted commas are the *only* passages, to which any objection is made in the INFORMATION filed in the King's-Bench by the Attorney-General, against the publisher, Mr. George Kearsly.

† The earls of Egremont and Halifax, and G. Grenville, esq.

indescribable infamy, have supported the most odious of his measures, the late ignominious *Peace*, and the wicked extension of the arbitrary mode of *Excise*? The NORTH BRITON has been steady in his opposition to a *single*, insolent, incapable, despotic minister; and is equally ready, in the service of his country, to combat the *triple-headed, Cerberean* administration, if the SCOT is to assume that motley form. By HIM every arrangement *to this hour* has been made, and the notification has been as regularly sent by letter under HIS HAND. *It therefore* seems clear to a demonstration, that HE intends only to retire into that situation, which HE held before HE first took the seals; I mean the dictating to every part of the king's administration. The NORTH BRITON desires to be understood, as having pledged himself a firm and intrepid assertor of the rights of his fellow-subjects, and of the liberties of WHIGS and ENGLISHMEN.

Genus ORATIONIS atrox, & vehemens, cui opponitur, lenitatis & mansuetudinis. CICERO.

“ THE King's Speech has always been
 “ considered by the legislature, and by
 “ the public at large, as the Speech of the Minister.”

“ *nifter* *. It has regularly, at the beginning
 “ of every session of parliament, been referred
 “ by both houses to the consideration of a
 “ committee, and has been generally can-
 “ vassed with the utmost freedom, when the
 “ minister of the crown has been obnoxious
 “ to the nation. The ministers of this free
 “ country, conscious of the undoubted pri-
 “ vileges of so spirited a people, and with
 “ the terrors of parliament before their eyes,

§ Anno 14 G. II. 1740. Duke of Argyle.

The King's Speech is always, in this House, considered as the Speech of the Ministers. LORDS Debates, vol. 7. p. 413.

Lord Carteret. *When we take his Majesty's Speech into consideration, though we have heard it from his own mouth, yet we do not consider it as his Majesty's Speech, but as the speech of his Ministers.* p. 425.

Anno 7 G. II. 1733. Mr. Shippen.

I believe it has always been granted, that the speeches from the Throne are the compositions of ministers of state; upon that supposition we have always thought ourselves at liberty to examine every proposition contained in them; even without doors people are pretty free in their marks upon them; I believe no gentleman here is ignorant of the reception the speech from the throne, at the close of last session, met with from the nation in general. COMMONS Debates, vol. 8. p. 5.

Anno 13 G. II. 1739. Mr. Pulteney, now Earl of Bath.

His Majesty mentions heats and animosities. Sir, I do not know who drew up this Speech; but whoever he was, he should have spared that expression: I wish he had drawn a veil over the heats and animosities that must be owned ONCE subsisted upon this head; for I AM SURE NONE NOW SUBSIST. Vol. II. p. 96.

“ have

“ have ever been cautious, no less with re-
 “ gard to the matter, than to the expressions
 “ of *speeches*, which they have advised the
 “ sovereign to make from the throne, at the
 “ *opening* of each session. They well knew
 “ that an † honest house of parliament, true
 “ to their trust, could not fail to detect the
 “ fallacious arts, or to remonstrate against
 “ the daring acts of violence committed by
 “ any minister. The speech at the *close* of
 “ the session has ever been considered as the
 “ most *secure* method of promulgating the fa-
 “ vourite court-creed among the vulgar; be-
 “ cause the parliament, which is the consti-
 “ tutional guardian of the liberties of the
 “ people, has in this case no opportunity of
 “ remonstrating, or of impeaching any wick-
 “ ed servant of the crown.

“ This week has given the public the most
 “ abandoned instance of ministerial effrontery
 “ ever attempted to be imposed on mankind.
 “ The *minister's speech* of last Tuesday is not

† The House of Commons in 1715 exhibited *Articles of impeachment of high-treason, and other high crimes and misdemeanors against Robert Earl of OXFORD and Earl MORTIMER*. Article 15 is for having corrupted the sacred fountain of truth, and put falsehoods into the mouth of Majesty, in several speeches made to parliament. See the Journals of the House of Commons, Vol. XVIII. Page 224.

" to be paralleled in the annals of this coun-
 " try. I am in doubt, whether the imposi-
 " tion is greater on the sovereign or on the
 " nation. Every friend of his country must
 " lament that a prince of so many great and
 " amiable qualities, whom England truly re-
 " veres, can be brought to give the sanction
 " of his sacred name to the most odious mea-
 " sures, and to the most unjustifiable public
 " declarations, from a throne ever renowned
 " for truth, honour, and unsullied virtue."

I am sure all foreigners, especially the king of
 Prussia, will hold the minister in contempt
 and abhorrence. He has made our sovereign
 declare, *My expectations have been fully answer-*
ed by the happy effects which the several allies of
my crown have derived from this salutary mea-
sure of the definitive Treaty. The powers at
war with my good brother, the king of Prussia,
have been induced to agree to such terms of ac-
commodation, as that great prince has approved ;
and the success which has attended my negotiation,
has necessarily and immediately diffused the bles-
sings of peace through every part of Europe.
 The infamous fallacy of this whole sentence is
 apparent to all mankind : for it is known that
 the king of Prussia did not barely approve, but
 absolutely dictated, as conqueror, every arti-
 cle

cle of the terms of peace. No advantage of any kind has accrued to that magnanimous prince from *our negotiation*, but he was basely deserted by the *Scottish* prime minister of *England*. He was known by every court in Europe to be scarcely on better terms of friendship *here*, than at *Vienna*: and he was betrayed by us in the *treaty of peace*. What a strain of insolence, therefore, is it in a minister to lay claim to what he is conscious all his efforts tended to prevent, and meanly to arrogate to himself a share in the fame and glory of one of the greatest princes the world has ever seen. The king of *Prussia*, however, has gloriously kept *all* his former *conquests*, and stipulated security for his allies, even for the *elector of Hanover*. I know in what light this great prince is considered in Europe, and in what manner he has been treated here; among other reasons, perhaps, for some contemptuous expressions he may have used of the *Scot*: expressions which are every day echoed by the whole body of *Englishmen* through the southern part of this island.

The *Preliminary Articles of Peace* were such as have drawn the contempt of mankind on our wretched negotiators. All our most valuable conquests were agreed to be restored, and

and the *East-India company* would have been infallibly ruined by a single article of this fallacious and baneful negotiation. No hireling of the minister has been hardy enough to dispute this; yet the minister himself has made our sovereign declare, *the satisfaction which he felt at the approaching re-establishment of peace upon conditions so honourable to his crown, and so beneficial to his people.* As to the *entire approbation* of parliament, which is so vainly boasted of, the world knows how that was obtained. The large debt on the *Civil List*, already above half a year in arrear, shews pretty clear the transactions of the winter. It is, however, remarkable, that the minister's speech dwells on the *entire approbation* given by parliament to the *Preliminary Articles*, which I will venture to say, he must by this time be ashamed of; for he has been brought to confess the total want of that knowledge, accuracy and precision, by which such immense advantages, both of trade and territory, were sacrificed to our inveterate enemies. These gross blunders, are, indeed, in some measure set right by the *Definitive Treaty*; yet the most important articles, relative to *cession, commerce, and the FISHERY*, remain as they were, with respect to the
French

French. The proud and feeble *Spaniard* too does not RENOUNCE, but only DESISTS from all *pretensions*, which he may have formed, to the right of *fishing*—where? Only about the island of NEWFOUNDLAND—till a favourable opportunity arises of *insisting* on it, there, as well as *elsewhere*.

“ The minister cannot forbear, even in the
 “ *King’s Speech*, insulting us with a dull re-
 “ petition of the word *æconomy*. I did not
 “ expect so soon to hear that word again,
 “ after it had been so lately exploded, and
 “ more than once by a most numerous audi-
 “ ence, *hissed* off the stage of our *English* thea-
 “ tres. It is held in derision by the *voice* of
 “ the people, and every tongue loudly proclaims
 “ the universal contempt, in which these
 “ empty professions are held by *this* nation.
 “ Let the public be informed of a single in-
 “ stance of *æconomy*, except indeed in the
 “ household.” Is a regiment, which was
 completed as to its complement of officers on
 the *Tuesday*, and broke on the *Thursday*, a proof
 of *æconomy*? Is the pay of the *Scottish Master*
Elliot to be voted by an *English* parliament,
 under the head of *æconomy*? Is this, among a
 thousand others, one of the convincing proofs
 of a firm resolution to form government on a plan
 of

of strict œconomy? Is it not notorious, that in the reduction of the army, not the least attention has been paid to it? Many unnecessary expences have been incurred, only to increase the power of the crown, that is, to create more lucrative jobbs for the creatures of the minister? The *staff* indeed is broke, but the discerning part of mankind immediately comprehended the mean subterfuge, and resented the indignity put upon so brave an officer as marshal *Ligonier*. That step was taken to give the whole power of the army to the crown, that is, to the minister. Lord *Ligonier* is now no longer at the head of the army; but lord *Bute* in effect is; I mean that every preferment given by the crown will be found still to be obtained by *his* enormous influence, and to be bestowed only on the creatures of the *Scottish* faction. The nation is still in the same deplorable state, while *he* governs, and can make the tools of *his* power pursue the same odious measures. Such a retreat, as he intends, can only mean the personal indemnity, which, I hope, guilt will never find from an injured nation. The negotiations of the late inglorious *peace* and the *excise*, will haunt him wherever he goes, and the terrors of the just resentment which he must be sure to meet from a
brave

brave and insulted people, and which must finally crush him, will be for ever before his eyes.

“ In vain will such a minister, or the foul
“ dregs of his power, the tools of corruption
“ and despotism, preach up in *the speech that*
“ *spirit of concord, and that obedience to the laws,*
“ *which is essential to good order.* They have
“ sent the *spirit of discord* through the land,
“ and I will prophecy that it will never be
“ extinguished but by the extinction of their
“ power. Is the *spirit of concord* to go hand
“ in hand with the PEACE and EXCISE, through
“ this nation? Is it to be expected between
“ an insolent EXCISEMAN, and a peer, gentle-
“ man, freeholder, or farmer, whose private
“ houses are now made liable to be entered
“ and searched at pleasure? Gloucestershire,
“ Herefordshire, and in general all the cyder
“ counties, are not surely the *several counties*
“ which are alluded to in the *speech.* The
“ *spirit of concord* hath not gone forth among
“ them, but the *spirit of liberty* has, and a
“ noble opposition has been given to the
“ wicked instruments of oppression. A na-
“ tion as sensible as the *English*, will see that
“ a *spirit of concord* when they are oppressed,
“ means a tame submission to injury, and
“ that

" that a *spirit of liberty* ought then to arise,
 " and I am sure ever will, in proportion to
 " the weight of the grievance they feel.
 " Every legal attempt of a contrary tendency to
 " the *spirit of concord* will be deemed a justi-
 " fiable resistance, warranted by the *spirit of*
 " the *English constitution*.

" A despotic minister will always endea-
 " vour to dazzle his prince with high-flown
 " ideas of the *prerogative* and *honour* of the
 " crown, which the minister will make a pa-
 " rade of *firmly maintaining*. I wish as much
 " as any man in the kingdom to see the *honour*
 " of the crown maintained in a manner truly
 " becoming *Royalty*. I lament to see it sunk
 " even to prostitution. What a shame was it
 " to see the security of this country in point
 " of military force, complimented away, con-
 " trary to the opinion of *Royalty* itself, and
 " sacrificed to the prejudices and to the igno-
 " rance of a set of people, the most unfit,
 " from every consideration, to be consulted
 " on a matter relative to the security of the
 " house of *Hanover* !" I wish to see the ho-
 " nour of the crown religiously asserted with re-
 " gard to our allies, and the dignity of it scrupulously

pulouſly maintained with regard to foreign princes. Is it poſſible ſuch an indignity can have happened, ſuch a ſacrifice of *the honour of the crown of England*, as that a miniſter ſhould already have kiſſed his majeſty's hand on being appointed to the moſt insolent and ungrateful court in the world, without a previous aſſurance of that reciprocal nomination which the meanest court in Europe would inſiſt upon, before ſhe proceeded to an act otherwiſe ſo derogatory to her honour? But *Electoral Policy* has ever been obſequious to the court of *Vienna*, and forgets the insolence with which *Count Colloredo* left England. Upon a principle of *dignity* and *æconomy*, lord *Stor- mont*, a *Scottiſh* peer of the loyal houſe of *Murray*, kiſſed his majeſty's hand, I think, on Wednesday in the *Eaſter* week; but this ignominious act has not yet diſgraced the nation in the *London Gazette*. The miniſtry are not aſhamed of doing the thing in private: they are only afraid of the publication. Was it a tender regard for the honour of the late king, or of his preſent majeſty, that invited to court lord *George Sackville*, in theſe firſt days of peace, to ſhare in the general ſatisfaction which all good courtiers received in the indignity

dignity offered to Lord *Ligonier*, on the advancement of ----- ? Was it to shew *princely* gratitude to the eminent services of the accomplished general of the house of *Brunswick*, who has had so great a share in rescuing *Europe* from the yoke of *France* ; and whose nephew we hope soon to see made happy in the possession of the most amiable princess in the world ? Or is it meant to assert the honour of the *crown* only against the united wishes of a loyal and affectionate people, founded in a happy experience of the talents, ability, integrity, and virtue of those, who have had the glory of redeeming their country from bondage and ruin, in order to support, by every art of corruption and intimidation, a weak, disjointed, incapable set of ----- I will call them any thing but *ministers* ----- by whom the *Favourite* still meditates to rule this kingdom with a rod of iron ?

The *Stuart* line has ever been intoxicated with the slavish doctrines of the *absolute, independent, unlimited* power of the crown. Some of that line were so weakly advised, as to endeavour to reduce them into practice : but the *English* nation was too spirited to suffer the least encroachment on the antient liberties of this kingdom. “ The *King of England* is

“ only the first magistrate * of this country ;
 “ but is invested by the law with the whole
 “ executive power. He is, however, respon-
 “ sible to his people for the due execution of
 “ the royal functions, in the choice of mini-
 “ sters, &c. equal with the meanest of his
 “ subjects in his particular duty.” The per-
 sonal character of our present amiable sove-
 reign makes us easy and happy that so great a
 power is lodged in such hands ; but the *Fa-
 vourite* has given too just cause for him to
 escape the general odium. The *prerogative* of
 the crown is to exert the constitutional powers
 entrusted to it in a way not of blind favour
 or partiality, but of wisdom and judgment.
 This is the spirit of our constitution. The
 people too have their *prerogative*, and I hope
 the fine words of DRYDEN will be engraven
 on our hearts :

Freedom is the English Subject's Prerogative.

* In the first speech of JAMES I. to his *English parliament*,
 March 22, 1603, are the following words, *That I am a SER-
 VANT is most true---I will never be ashamed to confess it My
 principal honour, to be the GREAT SERVANT of the common-
 wealth.* Journals of the House of Commons, Vol. I. Page 145.

TO THE NORTH BRITON.

SIR,

Please to state the following fact, which is of a nature almost entirely new, and I will soon trouble you with my observations on so remarkable a proceeding.

L. S. By the Right Hon. WELBORE ELLIS,
His Majesty's Secretary at War.

HAVING received his Majesty's commands, do hereby discharge ANTHONY NICHOLS, a private man, from the *Coldstream* regiment of foot-guards, commanded by General JAMES Lord TYRAWLEY, from any further service in the said regiment.

Given under my hand and seal, at the WAR-OFFICE, this 26th day of March, 1763.

To all his Majesty's officers, civil and military, whom it may concern.

W. ELLIS.

By the Articles of War, Sect. 3. Art. 2. *After a non-commissioned officer, or soldier, shall have been duly enlisted and sworn, he shall not be dismissed our service, without a discharge in writing; and no discharge granted to him shall be allowed of as sufficient, which is not signed by a field officer of the regiment into which he was enlisted; or commanding-officer, where no field officer of the regiment is in Great-Britain.*

Quere. *Is the Secretary at War a field officer, or what officer is he?*

I am, &c.



A

F R A G M E N T,

Which, it is said, was found in the Pocket of
one of the Printers, who were apprehended
by the King's Messengers, supposed to have
been intended for

Numb. XLVI. of the NORTH BRITON,

To be published on the following Saturday, April
30, 1763.

Was it not enough that ye mocked men, but must ye mock
the Lord also?

BIBLE.

IT is a very melancholy consideration, which
must fill every serious mind with the deepest
concern and horror, that RELIGION is now
made a political state engine, to serve the vilest
and most infamous purposes of an abandoned
minister, or of a wicked and corrupt admini-
stration.

stration. Not only every good man must be shocked to see, what is in its nature sacred, thus prostituted to the shameful ends of faction and party, but every decent man must be alarmed at so public a contempt and violation of that respect which is generally paid, even by the profligate and abandoned, to the sentiments of the sober and thinking part of the community. The religious man will go a step further: he will consider a proceeding of this kind as an impious mockery of heaven, and shudder at the dread of the fatal consequences he must apprehend from it.

I am led into these reflections by the form of prayer and thanksgiving to Almighty God, for putting an end to the late bloody and expensive war, by the conclusion of a just and honourable PEACE. I look upon this to be a most daring insult on the common sense of mankind, and not only an outrage to the public, but a solemn mockery of the Divine Being. Are we by a ministerial mandate to thank God that the Scot has sacrificed our most important conquests to the inveterate enemies of our religion and liberties? Is the English nation to acknowledge the goodness of the Almighty, because, according to the regular dispensations of his providence, he has only suffered a weak and incapable minister to conclude a peace, so

inadequate to the success with which the Divine Being crowned our just cause, so inglorious to the nation, so treacherous to our allies? a peace too for which all Europe expects to see him called to a very severe account? Should we not rather conclude, that the late peace was given us by God in his wrath; and ought we not in consequence to humble ourselves before him, and to deprecate the other punishments, which seem to be coming very fast, as well as very weighty and grievous upon us? The excise was plainly given in the just indignation of heaven against us, and the severest marks of vengeance will certainly be felt this year, tho' I hope our virtue will redeem us from so ignominious a bondage in the next.

I suspect that we have copied this new species of wickedness, the insulting the Divine Majesty of heaven, from the worst of our neighbours the French. They, almost regularly after a signal defeat, sing *Te Deum*, with the greatest pomp, and by a thousand insolent songs of triumph endeavour to impose on the fond credulity of the people. That perfidious nation has never scrupled the defying God, to secure any temporary advantages; and their most solemn acts of devotion have plainly appeared to have been enjoined only to serve the artful purposes of the state. Is this the nation
which

which is to be proposed for our pattern? And are the English to become what the Scots were for a long time, the professed admirers and imitators of the most atrocious frauds and perjuries of their old friends and allies, the French? These two nations have generally acted like the same subjects of one natural king, as Clarendon expresses it, on occasion of the letter, which Lord Loudon, and others of the Scottish nobility, wrote to the French king, to ask his protection, and to put him in mind of the dependence the kingdom (SCOTLAND) formerly had upon that crown (of FRANCE.) The letter too was directed in the stile of subjects to their own sovereign, au Roy. Such imitations of foreign manners will, I hope, be confined to the Scots, and never be followed by the English. I blushed when I read the late false and extravagant compliments of the Duke of Nivernois, and our unmanly returns. The violent professions of friendship made by France to this country, are not only surfeiting and suspicious, but very alarming, and I believe designed to cover some deep treachery. The great Duke of Marlborough, in a letter to Queen Anne, says, It is not my opinion only, but the opinion of all mankind, that the friendship of France must needs be destructive to your MAJESTY, there being in
that

that court a root of enmity irreconcilable to your MAJESTY's government, and the religion of these kingdoms.

Rejoicings should on this occasion be left to our enemies, and the greatest preparations are accordingly making by France and Spain to celebrate a peace, by which they have recovered those important conquests, for which so much blood and treasure have been lavished--- only for a minister to signalize his incapacity and treachery. But are WE to rejoice, and to join together in thanksgiving for a peace, by which France recovers Guadaloupe, Mariegalante, Desirade, Martinique, St. Peter, Miquelon, Pondicherry, all her settlements in the East-Indies, Goree, Belleisle, &c. her most valuable fisheries, &c. and the ancient disturber of the tranquillity of mankind, is again put in a capacity of endangering the liberties of Europe? Are WE solemnly to mock God by our rejoicing, that our minister has made a scandalous exchange of the Havannah, so important in itself, and which left all the settlements of Spain in the new world at our mercy, only for the wretched Florida?

I always feel the truest rapture, when I see the most excellent prince in Europe, the delight of his people, appearing in public to subjects, who build their own happiness

pinefs on that of their amiable monarch. Yet
 I own, I hope my fovereign will not go on
 Thursday in folemn proceffion to St. Paul's,
 becaufe I fear the cenfure of the malicious
 and ill-intentioned. I believe the city of
 London, fo juftly renowned for the high fpi-
 rit of liberty, tempered with the firmeft loy-
 alty to their princes, was not gratified with the
 prefence of their beloved king, either after the
 taking of Martinique, Pondicherry or the Ha-
 vannah. If gratitude to heaven in all thefe
 great events was fhewn by our pious prince
 rather in private devotion than in any folemn,
 public act, I fhould hope, (if I may be allowed
 to form a wifh on this great occafion) that the
 humiliating circumftance of giving up fo many
 and important conquelts, was not to be attended
 with parade or oftentation; for, I confeff, I fear
 the ill-humour, which is too vifible in the
 body of the people, enraged by an ignominious
 peace, and the late attack on their liberties,
 by enlarging the dominion of that accursed
 fiend, the EXCISE. I hope, therefore, that on
 the day of thankfgiving for the Peace, his ma-
 jefty will only go to chapel, and that all
 bloody iron fwords being now fheathed and laid
 afide, the peaceful wooden fword of ftate will
 be

be carried by that excellent peace-officer, Lord George Sackville.

* * * * *
 * * * * *
 * * * * * great illuminations
 at the hotels of the French and Spanish am-
 bassadors * * * * *
 * * * * *
 * * * * * Scotland-yard, *
 * * * * *
 South-Audley-street * * * * *
 * * * * *
 * * * * * the British Coffee-house *
 * * * * *
 * * * * * all the Scottish tradesmen
 in the court, in a blaze * * * * *
 * * * * *
 * * * * * the Treasury,
 Admiralty, &c. on fire * * * * *
 * * * * *
 Egyptian darkness through the city * * * * *

all the churches empty

* * * * the bells muffled, or tolling
the loss of Martinique, Guadaloupe, the Ha-
vannah, &c. &c. &c.

Numb.

Numb. XLVI. Saturday, Nov. 12, 1763.

*Sed quanto ille magis formas se vertat in omnes,
Tanto, nate, magis contende tenacia vincla.*

VIRG.

The more into all shapes he change himself,
The more, my son, constrain the biting chain.

IT is not possible to imagine a more general satisfaction and more lively joy than appeared among all ranks of men in the beginning of the last spring, when our most excellent sovereign graciously condescended to gratify the wishes of his people, by removing the Earl of Bute from the post of First Commissioner of the treasury. England had long smarted under the most rapacious acts of oppression and tyranny, which were frequently, sometimes very wantonly, exercised by that insolent, over-bearing minister. A general confusion had been introduced into every department of the state; but the finances in particular, because that was the province he had peculiarly made

made his own, were almost ruined. The national faith, which had been so celebrated in former times, began to be held in contempt, and one of our allies made no scruple to upbraid our ministers with an absolute breach of repeated promises and solemn engagements. Public credit, even so early after this glorious Scottish peace, began to droop, and foreigners had already taken the alarm.

The public joy, at the removal of so corrupt and so incapable a minister, was very universal and sincere; but alas! the days of triumph, on an event which had so long been the object of our most ardent wishes, were few and clouded. The nation hoped, as the natural and immediate consequence, to have seen the restoration of Mr. Pitt, and of the great Whig families, the ancient and the only real friends of the house of Brunswick. The public voice seemed to have reached the ears of the sovereign. It was not at first believed that only the name would be changed, and that the administration of affairs could be entrusted to three known, hackneyed tools of that very minister, who were at one moment openly, at another with a little feint, to pursue the same system, the same unnational measures: yet, from a temporary despair, this soon became the case. *Res ad Triarios rediit.*

These

These three political *Horatii*, almost immediately after the removal of the Scot, obtained a pretty explicit declaration in their favour, and at once leagued together, not for the salvation, but for the plunder of the state, for the maintenance of their own power, and the securing to themselves, their relations, and even newborn babes, the most desirable possessions and reversions in the kingdom, in our conquests and our colonies. Not one of these men possessed, in the smallest degree, the affections, or even the good opinion of the people. They seemed content to bear the curses of their country, provided they could share among themselves the most lucrative offices of the state. The pride and insolence of one of them were never equalled by any of his countrymen, and had before made him as universally odious in private, as he soon became in public life. A savage disposition, and brutal manners, which early appeared in his juvenile pleasures, were joined in him to that spirit of despotism and cruelty, so characteristic of the Stuart line, the love of which his father, if he did not inculcate into his children, had yet carried with him quite through life. An ignorance scarcely to be credited, and a mulishness, which could never be conquered, rendered him the

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contempt of all, who were so unhappy as to be under a necessity of attending upon him.—But he has paid the debt to nature, and is gathered to the dull of antient days.—The other Lord has been said to concur very unwillingly in the prosecution of the same odious schemes: but the state of affairs at home, and the necessity of regular quarterly payments, drove him to an entire acquiescence with every measure prescribed.—As to the commoner, he was chosen, because he had gone through the several departments of government, was universally allowed to be the dullest and most laborious pack-ass of the state, and, in his youth, had seen a little practice in law proceedings. He was therefore pitched upon to suggest the various modes of carrying into execution the many projected acts of oppression, and at the same time keeping just to the windward of the law, or within the letter of an act of parliament. He was the true author of the most grievous part of that cruel Act for the new excise on cyder and perry, by which the excise officer has forced his way even into private houses, on this side the Tweed; for such is the partiality of this tax, that it will affect only a few English counties, but not one Scottish. It must be owned, that no man was ever fitter for the business he undertook.

took. He has no passions. A perfect apathy reigns in his breast, save that an overflowing of the gall is now and then a good deal troublesome to himself, though very little to any other person. He is incapable of pity, of remorse, or even humanity, and, indeed, of all those fine feelings which men of more delicate mould, and lively parts, relish in so exquisite a degree. His constant gravity and solemn deportment were of real service; for they impressed an idea of dignity and importance on the common beholder; and his want of passions gave him an opportunity of affecting a wonderful sanctity of morals.—*Tertius a caelo cecidit Cato.*

Under such an administration, is it at all surprising that our affairs at home are declining, and our glory abroad sullied? Some few changes have indeed been made; but have such men* been brought in as had the confidence of the nation? I will venture to affirm, that a more universal discontent never appeared among the people than at present. We were

* Of these men, the most infamous in every respect, was the Earl of Sandwich. He had passed his youth in so abandoned and profligate a manner, that when he arrived at the middle age of life, he did not, in the opinion of the world, remain in possession of the smallest degree of virtue or honour. His conduct, with respect to women, was not only loose and barefaced, but perfidious, mean, and tricking. He was restrained

told, that by the late peace a full security was obtained for our American colonies. Is that the fact? The numbers of our fellow subjects basely murdered in the time of this profound glorious peace, give the lie to the flattering

ed by no considerations of private character, nor checked by any regard to public decorum. Frauds of the lowest nature, enforced by perjuries and falsehoods, were his only arts. With respect to men, he had early lost every sentiment of honour, and was grown exceedingly necessitous from the variety of his vices, as well as rapacious from the lust of gratifying them. Nature denied him wit, but gave him a species of buffoonery of the lowest kind, which was ridiculous in a man of fashion, and fit only for the dregs of the people. In business he was slow, tedious, and dull. He was sent, on the part of England, to conclude the general peace at Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748; where he made such childish blunders, that an able and experienced minister was obliged to be sent from Vienna on purpose to do the business of the plenipotentiary. The minister declared, on his arrival, that no one point of real importance had been settled. Even the usual and necessary forms of the ratifications of former treaties had been omitted, by which our greatest commercial advantages, particularly with Spain, would have been sacrificed. Since that period, to the present year, L--- S----- was laid aside, as totally unfit for any arduous or even serious business, nor has any thing of moment been, by any administration, trusted to him alone. Almost every good man having been forced out, or voluntarily left the present ministry, the seals of the secretary of state, of the Northern department, were put into his hands; and the nation, from that moment, saw that the administration were determined to aim a deadly blow at the vitals of liberty, and the English constitution; and therefore had pitched on the most profligate fellow of the age for that most profligate attempt.

addresses of some vile hirelings in their mother country, and demand vengeance on the ministers, who have so scandalously neglected, and left in a state of insecurity, not only our new conquests, but our most valuable colonies. Those are made a prey to the rapacity of four hungry Scottish governors; these are left exposed to the barbarity of savages, whom the intrigues of our new friends, the French, and repeated injuries from our own people, have, at length, armed against us. As to the merit of three of these gentlemen, I am a perfect stranger: the demerit of the governor of Quebec the world has seen; for he had very nearly lost the most important conquest we made during the whole war; a conquest purchased with the blood of one of our first heroes, the immortal Wolfe. Among the variety of new measures, which this nation must ever deplore, the appointment of military men to civil governments is not the least to be lamented: a policy reserved for such puny politicians as we have seen taken from the Cocoa and Arthur's, to make ministers of, and which is deservedly become the ridicule of all Europe. I will only further observe on this head, that the partiality of these appointments to every new government we have acquired, plainly marks the same hand fatal and hostile to England,

land, which, instead of holding the fair balance, has, by violence and injustice, kept down one scale, and made the other kick the beam. A Gazette so late as that of Saturday † the 8th of October, must convince every man, that even now Scottish influence is not at an end, and that all pretences of that kind, whether they are made by men in or out of power, are captious and delusive.

As to our affairs at home, I am free to declare that almost the only healthy symptom of the state seems to me the noble spirit exerted by our countrymen in the counties of Devon, Cornwall, &c. The summer has not passed

† The king has been pleased to constitute and appoint the Honourable James Murray, Esq; to be his Majesty's Captain General and Governor in Chief in and over his Majesty's province of Quebec in America.

The king has been pleased to constitute and appoint James Grant, Esq; to be his Majesty's Captain General and Governor in Chief in and over his Majesty's province of East-Florida in America.

The king has been pleased to constitute and appoint George Johnstone, Esq; to be his Majesty's Captain General and Governor in Chief in and over his Majesty's province of West-Florida in America.

The king has been pleased to constitute and appoint Robert Melvill, Esq; to be his Majesty's Captain General and Governor in Chief in and over his Majesty's islands of Granada, the Grenadines, Dominico, St. Vincent, and Tobago in America; and of all other islands and territories adjacent thereto, and which now are, or heretofore have been dependent thereupon.

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in inglorious ease, neither in the West nor the South of this once happy island, and I trust that the holy flame of liberty, which has glow'd in the hearts of many, will be caught by all the representatives of this free country. Parliaments are, by the constitution of our government, the guardians of liberty. Before them it is the duty of the people to lay their grievances, and it then equally becomes the duty of our representatives to redress them. I have therefore no doubt that very early in the ensuing session of parliament our countrymen will be delivered from this new bondage of excise, the only badge of slavery which this kingdom knows under the mild government of the most amiable of our princes. A British house of commons will ever be faithful to the great and important trust reposed in them by the collective body of the people; and when the sense of the nation is so clearly known, there ought surely to be no hesitation in any administration to conform to it. A neighbouring kingdom has very lately given us a proof of that constitutional spirit and love of freedom, which has ever distinguished those true and zealous Whigs. The lord lieutenant of Ireland, by several leading passages in his speech to parliament, seem'd fervilely to beg their approbation of the late peace. He vainly hoped
that

that his sycophant court language would be echoed back in the address; but an honest house of commons there, greatly superior to all undue influence, would give no congratulation on such a peace, nor prostitute the words glorious, honourable, or adequate, to what has disgraced us to all the world. On the contrary, those generous sons of freedom, embarked in the same noble cause with ourselves, declare, in an animated manner, that they cheerfully supported such heavy burthens during the continuance of the late successful war; and, in the coldest way, but just mention the re-establishment of a general peace.—The parliaments of France likewise have, in the course of last summer, set an example of freedom, which some other kingdoms would do well to imitate, and have presented such memorials as the freest state in Europe might be proud to own. They have not been afraid to declare that the piety, the honour, the justice of their king had been surprized; that his solemn promises, and sacred word, had been violated. They have dared to approach the throne with the boldest and most unwelcome truths, and have made bad ministers tremble. They have besides drawn such faithful pictures of the extreme miseries of their bleeding country, as must confound our ministerial hirelings; and
the

the various facts they mention demonstrate the total inability of France to continue the war. Her credit was entirely lost, and her marine annihilated. How she has since recruited, and in what a state of recovery her finances are, we must I fear too soon with anguish experience. This is the more to be lamented, because the public securities of this kingdom have fallen so low, that foreign nations begin to lose all opinion of that credit on whose broad basis our commerce arose, and increased to a magnitude, which has raised the admiration and envy of all other states. The public funds, in a very few months, in this early dawning of peace, have fallen above 14 per cent. England appears now in danger of ceasing to be the great mart, the centre of the commerce and riches of the world, from the fluctuating state of her public credit. That beautiful and wondrous fabric, the work of ages, the pride and glory of Britain, as well as the jealousy of her most powerful neighbours, which has survived two desperate Scottish rebellions, seems at last doomed to fall a sacrifice to the incapacity and treachery of a set of men, formerly the objects of the contempt and ridicule, now of the abhorrence and hatred of their country,

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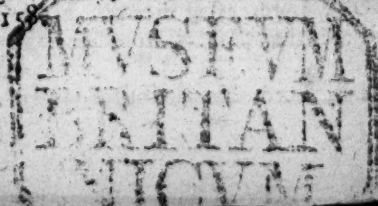
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